

Kar glin Zí khro

A
Tantric
Buddhist
Concept

c n w s

Henk
Blezer

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Kar glin Źi khro

A Tantric Buddhist Concept

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Acknowledgements

The three *maṇḍala-s* depicted on pp.83, 84, and 131, were reproduced from Tibetan art-calendars published by Papyrus Verlag GmbH Hamburg (April 1981-, February 1991-, and November 1985-pages successively). Since the house ceased publishing no further credits or references can be provided here.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial support received from the "Stichting Leids Universiteits-Fonds" (LUF) in the printing-cost for the reproduction of these *maṇḍala-s*.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge a travel-grant received from the "Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research" (NWO), which enabled me to study and work in Dharamsala, (H.P.) India, from October 1996 until January 1997. Most of the *Buddhist* and especially "*Bon*"-material gathered during my stay in India could not be used for this publication anymore, it will be utilised in a follow-up research.

Last but not least I, should like to express my appreciation for the inspiration and knowledgeable assistance received from my brother, Frans Blezer, when planning and designing the electronic version of this thesis.

Further Errata to *Kar glin Zī khro*, A Tantric Buddhist Concept

Typographical errors that you might want to know of

p.2, n.7, l.4,	read "can be found" or "is to be found" instead of "can to be found"
p.16, n.83, l.4,	read "there" instead of "here"
p.17, n.85, subn.2, l.2,	read " <i>pañcopādānaskandha-s</i> " instead of " <i>pañcopādānaskhandha-s</i> "
p.20, n.95, l.38,	read "tamisrāyā" instead of "misrāyā"
p.24, l.3,	read "chapter" instead of "paragraph"
p.24, n.103, l.4,	read "the" instead of "he"
p.24, n.103, l.20,	read "alabhamānaḥ" instead of "alabhamānāḥ"
p.25, l.33,	read "above" instead of "below"
p.31, n.133, l.4,	read "and the last chapter of" instead of "in the last chapter"
p.40, n.190, l.4,	read "not to confuse with" instead of "not to confuse"
p.40, n.192, l.4,	read "pp.914-917" instead of "pp.114-117"
p.103, n.298, l.4,	read "eighteenth" instead of "eighth"
p.108, l.30,	read "or the unity" instead of "(or) the revered unity"
p.108, l.31,	read "than just the revered host" instead of "than the revered host"
p.108, l.41,	read "diverse sounds" instead of "divers sounds"
p.126, l.4,	read "Govinda (1956), and Snellgrove (1957)" instead of "and Govinda (1956), Snellgrove (1957)"
bibliography, p.203,	add: "Downman, K. (1994) trsl., <i>The Flight of the Garuḍa</i> , Teachings of the Dzokchen Tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, Boston 1994."
index, p.232, l.33,	read "sīlabbataparāmāso" instead of "sīlabattaparamāso"

Typos and deviations from orthography as they occur in source-texts used

p.8, n.44, l.5,	read "abhinirvartayann" instead of "abhinirvarttayann"
p.9, n.44, l.10,	read "kleśāvedhena" instead of "kṣeśāvedhena"
p.19, n.93, l.6,	read "savyā-" instead of "avyā-"
p.20, n.95, l.37,	read "bhinirvartate" instead of "bhinirvarttate"
p.20, n.95, l.38,	read "śubhakāriṇas" instead of "aśubhakāriṇas"?
p.22, n.98, l.21,	read "na pratihanyate" instead of "pratihanyate"?
p.23, n.102, l.9,	read "vartate" instead of "varttate"

Typos you would not want to be bothered about

p.ix,	add page-number
p.1, n.4, l.4,	read "print-out" instead of "out print"
p.2, n.10, l.2,	read "group" instead of "groups"
p.2, n.10, l.3,	read "table of contents" instead of "Table of Contents"
p.2, n.11, l.1,	read "29.32" instead of "29 32"
p.3, n.18, l.1,	read "Wrathful (Deities)" instead of "Wrathful(Deities)"
p.9, n.44, subn.6, l.2,	read "bhavānupapattir yo" instead of "bhavānupapattiryo"
p.11, n.54, l.2,	N.B. 8 point size in the original, now reduced 80%
p.12, n.55, subn.1, l.1,	increase "(voir <i>inf.</i> , note 5); <i>Kośa</i> , III, 14." one point in (original) size
p.18, n.93, l.2,	read "p.122)" instead of "p.122.)"
p.20, n.95, ll.31&33,	read "ntarā-" instead of "ntarā"
p.23, n.102, l.18,	read "p.122)" instead of "p.122.)"
p.31, n.139, l.1,	read "Orofino (1985)" instead of "Orofino(1985)"
p.34, n.157, l.2,	read "p.130a)." instead of "p.130a)"
p.41, n.197, l.1,	read "61," instead of "61."
p.41, n.199, l.1,	read "61," instead of "61.,"
p.56, n.214, l.2,	read "number" instead of "numbers"
p.67, l.43,	read " <i>Anuyoga rdzogs rim</i> " instead of " <i>Anuyoga rdzogs, rim</i> "
p.82,	add header, top right (landscape): <i>KAR GLIÑ ŽI KHRO</i>
p.95, l.10,	read "karmamaṇḍala)" instead of "karmamaṇḍala"
p.96, ll.31-32,	replace the hyphen in <i>Tathāgata-s</i> for a non-breaking hyphen
p.104, n.302, l.6,	read " <i>gŽi sku gsum</i> " instead of " <i>gŽi'i sku gsum</i> "
p.109, l.21,	read "sound, light and rays" instead of "sound light and rays"
p.116, n.324, l.1,	read "p.31." instead of "p.31)."
p.121, n.353, l.1,	read "ςῑ" instead of "ςῑ"
p.122, n.371, l.1,	read "ςῑ" instead of "ςῑ"
bibliography, p.178,	interrupt underline for descend of letters in Specific Texts concerning ' <i>Pho ba</i>

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N.B. work-editions (Appendix II) available on floppy-disks.

Abbreviations

<i>AbhKBh</i>	<i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>(N)AN</i>	<i>Anguttaranikāya</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>AS</i>	<i>Abhidharmasamuccaya</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>ASBh</i>	<i>Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>BoBh</i>	<i>Bodhisattvabhūmi</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>(N)DN</i>	<i>Dīghanikāya</i> (see Appendix I)
f.	and the following
ff.	and further
IASWR	Institute for Advanced Studies in World Religions
<i>(N)Kv</i>	<i>Kathāvatthu</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>Kv-a</i>	<i>Kathāvatthupparakaraṇaṭṭhakathā</i> (see Appendix I)
l.	line
<i>Lal</i>	<i>Lalitavistara</i> (see Appendix I)
ll.	lines
<i>(N)MN</i>	<i>Majjhimanikāya</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>Mvu</i>	<i>Mahāvastu</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>N</i>	Nālandā-Devanāgarī-Pāli-Series (see Appendix I)
n.	note
<i>Nett</i>	<i>Nettipakaraṇa</i> (see Appendix I)
nn.	notes
p.	page
<i>Paṭis</i>	<i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>Pj I</i>	<i>Khuddhakaṇṭha & Paramatthajotikā I</i> (see Appendix I)
pp.	pages
PTT	Peking edition of the Tibetan <i>Tripiṭaka</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>(N)Pp</i>	<i>Puggalapaññatti</i> (see Appendix I)
r	recto side
<i>(N)SN</i>	<i>Samyuttanikāya</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Sanskṛt</i>
<i>Spk</i>	<i>Sāratthappakāsinī</i> (see Appendix I)
SUS	<i>Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra</i> (see Appendix I)
Tib.	Tibetan
<i>Ud-a</i>	<i>Paramatthadīpanī Udānaṭṭhakathā</i> (see Appendix I)
v	verso side
<i>Vin</i>	<i>Vinayaṭṭhaka</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>Vism</i>	<i>Visuddhimagga</i> (see Appendix I)
<i>Y</i>	<i>Yogācārabhūmi</i> (see Appendix I)

Transliterations

Tibetan transliteration alphabet:

<i>ka</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ṅa</i>
<i>ca</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ña</i>
<i>ta</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>
<i>tsa</i>	<i>tsha</i>	<i>dza</i>	
<i>wa</i>	<i>ṣa</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>'a</i>
<i>ya</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la</i>	
<i>ṣa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>a</i>

Special signs used:

<i>śad:</i>	and
<i>gter ma śad:</i>	ʼ
prefix to <i>ya</i> :	(<i>g</i>)- <i>ya</i>

Saṃskṛt transliteration alphabet:

Consonants:

<i>ka</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>gḥa</i>	<i>ṅa</i>
<i>ca</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>jḥa</i>	<i>ña</i>
<i>ṭa</i>	<i>ṭha</i>	<i>ḍa</i>	<i>ḍḥa</i>	<i>ṇa</i>
<i>ta</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dḥa</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bḥa</i>	<i>ma</i>
<i>ya</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>va</i>	
<i>śa</i>	<i>ṣa</i>	<i>sa</i>		
<i>ha</i>				

<i>visarga:</i>	ḥ
<i>anusvāra:</i>	ṃ

Vowels:

<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>		
<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ai</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>au</i>
<i>ṛ</i>	<i>ṝ</i>		
<i>ḷ</i>			

Special signs used:

<i>avagraha:</i>	'
<i>daṇḍa:</i>	and

Introduction

The research presented here focuses on four main issues, the first three of which will be discussed in the first chapter, which has the character of a historical survey:

- 1.1 Developments in speculations concerning an intermediate state *antarābhava*(, *bar ma do'i srid pa*) and *bar do*;
- 1.2 Developments in the concept of peaceful and wrathful deities (*ṣi khro*);
- 1.3 The conflation of speculations regarding *bar do* and *ṣi khro* in a new *bar do*, a *bon ṣiid/ ṣi khro bar do* ("Bon") or *chos ṣiid bar do*¹ (Buddhist).

The fourth point of investigation is discussed in the second chapter, in which I shall take stock of some of the most current

2 Traditional "interpretations" of *ṣi khro-maṇḍala-s*.

Making use of these "interpretations" and the insights gained from the historical survey, in the third chapter I shall make

- 3 An attempt at "translating" the concept of the *kar gliṇ ṣi khro* (the *ṣi khro* according to *Karma gliṇ pa*).
- 4 A conclusion, and
A summary in the Dutch language.

Several bibliographies (Appendix I), indexes, and other utilities are appended to this. Work-editions of (most of) the texts that are necessary for reading this thesis and that are not generally accessible are available on the floppy-disks included² (Appendix II). Note well, that these are only provisional collations of the several block-prints and manuscripts consulted that have not yet been exhaustively checked.

In this introduction I should furthermore like to mention the most relevant and frequently used texts.

Of central importance to this research is the *Chos ṣiid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo*³. This most probably is the earliest Buddhist testimony for an explicit and elaborate description of *ṣi khro* in a separate *bar do*, here called *chos ṣiid bar do*⁴. This

¹ The *bar do* of (the confrontation with) reality as it is.

² They are presented in MSWord (6.0c) for Windows-format; a MSWindows-install-routine, True-Type fonts and a Word-viewer are included on the disks. Macintosh-formats are available, they can be provided on request. All brand- and product-names are trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective holders.

³ "The Great 'Released by Hearing(-Text)': A Clarification of (or Reminder when in) the *Chos ṣiid Bar do*", some editions feature *gsol 'debs* (prayer) instead of *gsal 'debs* (guidance, clarification, reminder?) in their title.

⁴ There are discussions of a *chos ṣiid bar do* extant in certain *rDzogs chen*-texts, some of which might or might not be earlier than the *Chos ṣiid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (the first reliable dates (compiler) point to the fourteenth century also), though *maṇḍala-s* of deities are mentioned, their appearance is not described at length. For a listing of some *rDzogs chen*-texts see the database out print in Appendix I of relevant texts from the *sṅñiṅ thig ya bñi*, compiled by *Kloṅ chen pa dri med 'od zer* (1306/8-1363). And see especially one of the texts presented by Orofino (1990), the *Ni ma dañ zla ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsañ ba'i rgyud*, to be found in the *rñiṅ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*-section of the *Bima sñiṅ thig* (she refers to Prats here, Contributo allo Studio Biografico dei Primi gTer-ston (= Istituto Universitario Orientale,

text forms part of most of the text-cycles that are designated as *Bar do'i thos grol*⁵ or *Kar glin ži khro*⁶. The individual cycles vary greatly as to their contents and compilation dates. There seems to be a group, though, of about sixteen or seventeen texts that formed part of the earlier *Bar do thos grol*-cycles, the oldest core of which was allegedly discovered by the *gter ston*⁷ *Karma glin pa* (fourteenth century AD?) and that appear in most editions of the *Kar glin ži khro*⁸. I used seven block-prints of the *Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, three of which are made from the same printing-blocks⁹.

Significant and possibly earlier reference-material than the *Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is to be found in a "Bon"-text, which is also referred to as a "*bar do thos grol*"-text, the *sŋan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo*. A version of this text appears in a "Bon"-collection of *ži khro*-texts called *Ži khro sgrub skor*¹¹, a collection of texts which was mainly drawn from the *sPyi spuŋis*-cycles¹² and was compiled by abbot *Ňi ma bstan 'dzin* (1813-?). The *sŋan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo* is attributed to *Dran pa'i nam mkha'* (eighth century AD) and is said to be transmitted orally (read: aurally) as a so-called *sŋan brgyud*, through his son *Tshe dbaŋ rig 'dzin* to 'Gro mgon *dam pa raŋ grol* (1149-?).

Another version of this text appears under a different title, *Ži khro bar do 'phraŋ grol gyi thos grol las byaŋ bag chags raŋ grol*, in another "Bon"-collection of *ži khro*-texts called *dBaŋ ldan žu rin lugs ži khro'i sgrub skor*¹³, a collection of *ži khro*-texts presenting the *Žu*-lineage of *Bon po bla ma*-s. This text, too, is attributed to (*sMan rgyal*) *Dam pa raŋ grol* (1149-?). It should be noted here that "Bon" should appear in quotation marks as far as this early period is concerned. The name "Bon" was applied by *Buddhists* after the event of official introduction of *Buddhist* traditions into Tibet to allegedly pre-*buddhist* Tibetan traditions that were nonetheless already strongly influenced by *Buddhist* doctrines¹⁴.

Important reference-material for the descriptions of the *ži khro* as they are extant in the *Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is available in a class of texts concerned with confession- and expiation-rituals that often bear the designation *na rag doŋ sprug(s)*

Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor XVII), p.47, Napoli 1982), she translates the text on pp.30-59, and presents an edition on pp.105-126; she gives no precise dates.

⁵ "The Great (Text-Cycle about) Being Released by Hearing (the Recitation of This *Thos grol*-Text) in relation to the *Bar do*-s (probably to be read as: when in the *Bar do*-s); or in brief: "The Great 'Released by Hearing' for the *Bar do*-s". For a discussion of the transmission of these cycles see Back (1987), pp.5ff..

⁶ The *ži khro*-tradition according to *Karma glin pa* (see the following). Cf. the '*Ja' ishon ži khro*, the *ži khro*-cycle according to the *gter ston* '*Ja' ishon sŋiŋ po* or *Las 'phro glin pa* (1585-1656).

⁷ A revealer of treasures, a person that is acknowledged to have brought to light texts and other objects that supposedly have been concealed for some time. This tradition of treasure (*gter ma*) and treasure finder (*gter ston*) is first and foremost met with in *rŋiŋ ma Buddhist* and *rDzogs chen*-circles. A presentation of traditional views about this phenomenon can be found in Tulku Thondup Rinpoche (1986), pp.13f. and pp.57ff. and in Dargyay (1969) and (1977a), pp.85ff..

⁸ For an attempt at dating the oldest kernel of the *Bar do'i thos grol*-cycles I should like to refer to Back (1987), pp.16ff..

⁹ See Back (1987), pp.5ff., esp. p.10.

¹⁰ For further details on these and other Tibetan collections mentioned in this study the reader is referred to the appropriate database print-outs concerning the discussed text or groups of texts in Appendix I, to enable quick reference, the appendix is preceded by a Table of Contents.

¹¹ Published in Delhi 1967, see Appendix I, the text is coded there as Karmay (1977) 29 32, Zogai 614, (T.124)

¹² See Karmay (1977), pp.32-36, esp. pp.34 & 36

¹³ This compilation is said to be reproduced from a manuscript-collection from the library of the late *dPal tshul* by Sonam Dakpa and is published in two volumes, Delhi 1975, it is also available in the IASWR-microfiche-edition, SB 774.II.8.

¹⁴ See e.g. Per Kværne (1972), pp.22ff..

in their titles, that is to say, they promise to save the contrite confessor from the abysmal depths of hell (literally: "to rend the depths of hell"). The oldest and most explicit text is called *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus*¹⁵. The text is presented as a translation from a *Saṃskṛt* text by the legendary saints *Padmasambhava* and *Vimalamitra* (eighth century AD?). The colophon further mentions the translators *sNags Jñānakumāra* (eighth century AD) and *rMa rin chen mchog* (777-836)¹⁶. I used three block-prints of this text, two of which are made from the same printing-blocks¹⁷.

Lastly there is late yet important reference-material available from another *ži khro*-tradition, the '*ja' tshon ži khro*, in an eighteenth-century *bKa' rgyud-rDzogs chen*-text, which bears the promising short-title *Ži khro nes don sñiñ po*¹⁸. This *ži khro*-tradition according to the *gter ston Las 'phro gliñ pa* (1585-1656), also called *Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon sñiñ po*, is still transmitted in a *bKa' rgyud 'brug pa*-monastery in Tashijong in Himachal Pradesh, Northern-India¹⁹. The author of the *Ži khro nes don sñiñ po*, *Ņag dbañ kun dga' bstan 'dzin* (1680-1728) is said to have been the third incarnation in the *Khams sprul*-lineage of incarnate *bla ma*-s that started with the first *Khams sprul*, Karma Tenphel (1598-1638)²⁰. I used five block-prints, three of which were made from the same printing-blocks²¹.

¹⁵ Available from the library of the Kern Institute, Leiden, in the Johan van Manen Collection, under registration numbers: 2740/H511/H573 (identical) and 2740/H449.

¹⁶ N.B. the names of these translators are also connected with a translation of an important *Mahāyoga*-text, the *Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścayamahātantra*, an early source for a *ži khro-maṇḍala*, see section 1.2.

¹⁷ For further details regarding these and other *Na rag don sprug(s)*-texts the reader is referred to Appendix I.

¹⁸ "The Essence of the True Meaning of the (Host of) Peaceful and Wrathful(Deities)", The full title goes: *Zab chos ži khro nes don sñiñ po'i sgo nas rañ dañ gžan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las* (private copy: *lam*) *rim 'khor ba'i mun gžoms kun bzañ thugs rje'i snañ mdzod* (in the title-description by Chongla N. Losang and Rechung J. Phunckhang, Leiden 1965, *dañ* is left out and '*khor ba* is replaced by '*tshol ba*).

¹⁹ I have been informed that the ritual that is described in the *Ži khro nes don sñiñ po* is performed there on a regular basis, it forms a part of the ritual calendar of this monastery.

²⁰ The present teen-age abbot to be of Tashijong-monastery is considered to be the ninth incarnation of the first *Khams sprul*, that is to say, according to this tradition *Ņag dbañ kun dga' bstan 'dzin* was a previous incarnation.

²¹ The three oldest (identical) versions consulted (1736) are kept at the library of the Kern Institute, Leiden, in the Johan van Manen collection under registration numbers 2740/H448 (the first title-page is missing, it is catalogued under the short title-indication in the margin: *Ži khro nes don sñiñ po*), H426, and H194. Later versions are available through the IASWR-microfiche-edition, fiche 1416, R 1344 (1968) and from Tashijong-monastery (private copy, recent print). For more information on these and related works see Appendix I.

1 A Historical Survey of Developments in the Concepts *Antarābhava* (*Bar ma do'i srid pa*)/ *Bar do* and *Āi khro*

Introductory remarks

The next paragraphs are an outline of the most important historical developments in the concepts *antarābhava* (*bar ma do'i srid pa*) and *bar do* (section 1.1), *āi khro* (section 1.2) and of the conflation of *bar do* and *āi khro* in a ("Bon"-) *bon űid/ āi khro bar do* or (Buddhist) *chos űid bar do* (section 1.3). These developments are presented by means of a discussion of the most relevant material regarding *bar do* and *āi khro*. The survey starts with the earliest references to an *antarābhava* in Pāli texts and the earliest beginnings of speculations regarding a more or less extensive *maṇḍala* (*dkyil 'khor*) of *āi khro* in *tantric Buddhist* (and "Bon"-) literature. I have no intention to discuss possible links of the concepts *antarābhava* or *bar do* with a shamanic journey to an "other world"²² or with popular speculations regarding deceased ancestors, *preta*-s and the like. Nor do I intend to trace developments in *āi khro* to a remote and evasive past or less archaic but equally inaccessible cultural areas in discussing the probability of possible links between visualisation and ritual possession; even a rough sketch of developments of practices of visualisation in all kinds of *tantric* traditions, whether they be *Buddhist* or not, is beyond the scope of this study.

The survey will be continued until the fourteenth century AD, which is the upper limit for the dating of the descriptions of a *chos űid bar do* in the *Chos űid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. As far as I have been able to gather from my readings in later *Buddhist* literature on the subject, the most spectacular developments are indeed to be found before this date; especially the *Bar do'i thos grol*-cycles have come close to an authoritative standard for discussions of death and dying thereafter.

It might be useful to briefly summarise the present state of knowledge regarding the evolution of a separate *chos űid bar do*²³. The original nucleus of a *Bar do'i thos grol* that, as we noted before, was already extant at the fourteenth century AD, developed amongst what in due course became designated as the *rűiñ ma pa*-s, "the old ones", adherents of the so-called "old *tantra*-s"²⁴. Judging by its content the *Chos űid bar do'i gsal 'debs* most probably arose in circles within this sect that were influenced by *rDzogs chen*-ideas. *rDzogs chen*, generally translated as "the great perfection", represents a specific, more direct approach to practice and "spirituality" rather than a separate sect or school. As such, *rDzogs chen* is not confined to any single school, but sooner or later adepts in this tradition appear throughout nearly all sects²⁵. It has to be admitted, though, that the closest ties exist with religious groups that at the end of the first millennium AD became known as *rűiñ ma pa* and "Bon po".

Some of the conclusions on the development of the *chos űid bar do* as represented in the *Chos űid bar do'i gsal 'debs* that have been drawn by Back²⁶ need to be mentioned here. Without suggesting that I would be inclined to accept all or even most of his

²² For a study on this subject see Back (1979), *Eine Buddhistische Jenseitsreise*.

²³ Up until now almost all scholarly and popular writing was concerned with *Buddhist* sources on the subject, the equivalent of a *bon űid/ āi khro bar do* in "Bon"-sources did not yet receive much attention; Lauf (1975), pp.175-187, presents some information.

²⁴ See e.g. Karmay (1988), p.9.

²⁵ For a traditional exposition regarding the position of *rDzogs chen* see Namkhai Norbu (1986), pp.26ff..

²⁶ Back (1979), pp.75-79 and summary p.233 (the basic structure of the *Bar do'i thos grol* according to his view is discussed in pp.111-203).

conclusions on the subject, I should like to say here that I believe Back was right in stating that the *chos ñid bar do* holds a special position amongst the other *bar do*-s that are described in *Bar do'i thos grol*-texts.

In the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal* 'debs six *bar do*-s are mentioned²⁷, three of which pertain to death and dying. The first *bar do* coincides with the death-process, the '*chi kha'i bar do*'. The next *bar do* we already met with in the introduction when a *chos ñid bar do* was mentioned, a phase pertaining to a supposed state immediately after death²⁸. The third *bar do* is the *srid pa'i bar do*, the *bar do* of becoming (rebirth); for this *bar do* we find speculations concerning the wanderings and errings of a deceased (or rather the perception (*rnam par ses pa*, *Skt. vijñāna*) of a deceased) driven by fierce winds of *karma* in a self-created (imagined) beyond, possibly resulting in rebirth. According to Back, this last *bar do*, on closer examination, shows much resemblance to an older concept of one single state between death and rebirth, that is to say, to the *antarābhava* (*bar ma do'i srid pa*)²⁹ that is described already at some length in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* attributed to *Vasubandhu*³⁰, and the first references to which we find in *Pāli* texts.

Besides these three *bar do*-s, three other *bar do*-s are mentioned in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal* 'debs. These pertain to diverse levels of consciousness (if I am permitted to use this vague term in this context), the *bar do* of the natural state of existence (or of the period of rebirth): the *rañ bzin skye gnas bar do*, probably implying ordinary waking consciousness; the *bar do* of dreaming: the *rmi lam bar do*; and the *bar do* of the *dhyāna*-(s) pertaining to the) *samādhi*(*samāpatti*)-s³¹: the *tiñ rie 'dzin bsam gtan gyi bar do*.

According to Back, the *chos ñid bar do* constitutes a later layer in the *Bar do thos grol*-texts that is more or less superimposed upon an older layer of one single "intermediate state" between death and rebirth. This older layer, now called *srid pa'i bar do* has, as Back convincingly argues, clear Indian (*purāṇic*) equivalents in texts like the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and the *Garuḍapurāṇasāroddhāra* (these texts have to the best of my knowledge not yet been dated satisfactorily). To my present knowledge, a *chos ñid bar do* has no parallels in non-Buddhist Indian literature. The only equivalents are to be found in "Bon"-traditions and not yet dated *rDzogs chen*-texts³², which will be discussed later.

As we shall see in section 1.3, *rñin ma* but also old "Bon"-*rDzogs chen*-traditions were of paramount importance in the development of speculations regarding a separate *bar do* featuring the appearance of *ñi khro*.

²⁷ See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.14, l.18 - p.15, l.1.

²⁸ That is to say, the moment of death in Tibetan traditions, i.e. the dawning of the clear light of death ('*chi ba'i 'od gsal*'), not the so-called clinical death.

²⁹ The textual evidence of (discussions concerning) an *antarābhava* will be presented in the next paragraph.

³⁰ See section 1.1.

³¹ The translation of this term is discussed at length in my unpublished M.A.-thesis, *ñi khro nes don sñin po*, Vol.I, p.XIV, n.27, Leiden 1993.

³² See introduction.

1.1 *Antarābhava* (*Bar ma do'i srid pa*) and *Bar do*

In those texts of older schools of *Buddhism* that are still extant today, an *antarābhava* is discussed almost exclusively as a mere nominal entity and above that, more often than not, the existence of such an intermediate state is denied³³. A more elaborate treatment of the subject is first to be met with in relatively late literature³⁴. The earliest references that come anywhere near a concept of an "intermediate state/ being" are speculations concerning a *gandhabba* that we find mentioned as one of the conditions necessary for conception³⁵. Discussions regarding an *antarāparinibbāyin*³⁶ sometimes coincide with those of an *antarābhava*³⁷, but on the whole these coincidences do not yield much of a meaningful connection between the two. That is to say, the concept of an *antarāparinibbāyin* does not appear to be very revealing for the understanding of an *antarābhava*. Much of the discussion concerning an *antarābhava* proper is rather late – commentaries on *sutta-s* and (later additions to) *abhidhamma* – and seems to merely reflect the theoretical problems that the authors of these texts had with accommodating an intermediate state in their theoretical frameworks. In short, most of the material is not relevant enough to reproduce here, hence only a few, typical rather than revealing, passages will be referred to or, if needs be, presented in the following³⁸.

There are quite a few references to an *antarāparinibbāyin*. Most frequent are the passages where an *antarāparinibbāyin* is mentioned as one of five classes of

³³ According to Bareau ((1955), pp.283 & 291) the following supposed "sects" are said to have accepted an *antarābhava*: *Sarvāstivādin-s*, *Sammitiya-s*, *Pūrvaśaila-s*, later *Mahīśāsaka-s*, and *Dārṣāntika-s*; while an intermediate state is said to be rejected by: *Mahāsāṅghika-s*, *Mahīśāsaka-s*, *Theravādin-s*, *Vibhajyavādin-s*, and in the *Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra*. In an article Wayman ((1974), p.227) mentions a similar list of "sects": pro: *Pūrvaśaila-s*, *Sammitiya-s*, *Sarvāstivādin-s*, *Vātsīputrīya-s*, and later *Mahīśāsaka-s*; contra: *Theravādin-s*, *Vibhajyavādin-s*, *Mahāsāṅghika-s*, earlier *Mahīśāsaka-s*, and in a text (*Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra*) of *Dharmaguptaka-s* who, according to him, issued forth from the former. He refers to Bareau (1955) and does not give further references for the views of these supposed sects, nor does he examine the "sects" themselves more closely in his article. Cf. Vallée Poussin, L. de la, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1: *Sectes qui nient l'antarābhava*: *Mahāsāṅghikas*, *Ekavyāvahārikas*, *Lokuttaravādin-s*, *Kukkuṭikas*, *Mahīśāsakas* (Vasumitra), *Vibhajyavādin-s* (*Vibhāyā* 19.4).

³⁴ Like for instance the late (traditionally first century AD, see Warder (1970), pp.346f.) *Sarvāstivādin* *abhidharma*-work *Mahāvibhāṣā* and in an allegedly (Li-kouang (1949), pp.96-98) *Mūlasarvāstivādin* addition to the *sūtrapīṭaka*, *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* (both will be referred to more extensively later).

³⁵ E.g. *MN* I, p.265, l.35 - p.266, l.25 and *MN* II, p.156, l.29 - p.157, l.3, the interpretation of the term *gandhabba* that is appropriate in this context can be (and probably was) inferred from these passages; see also the definitions in later *abhidharma*-literature, discussed towards the end of this paragraph. The use of the term *gandhabba* is not to be confused here with Vedic conceptions regarding one or more *gandharva(-s)*.

³⁶ This term will be explained in the following.

³⁷ E.g. *Kv* II, p.361, l.8 - p.366, l.25 and *Ud-a* p.92, l.20 - p.93, l.17, cf. *Spk* II, p.372, l.27 - p.373, l.25.

³⁸ Abbreviations (following Trenckner (1924ff.)) refer to the corresponding text-editions mentioned (including these abbreviations) in the bibliography of *Pāli* texts, the name of the editor(s) and the year of publication will not be mentioned. The abbreviations used in the footnotes (mainly of variant readings) that are extant in the text-editions consulted follow the conventions used in these editions, these notes will be printed in a somewhat smaller point-size. The text-editions of the *Nālandā*-series feature an "N" preceding the first-mentioned abbreviations. Those passages that are referred to in the following but are not cited either in the main text or the footnotes can be consulted in the provisional work-editions (Appendix II(a) provided on floppy-disks, this appendix is, like Appendix I, preceded by a table of contents).

*anāgāmin-s*³⁹ in more or less mechanical enumerations regarding the subject⁴⁰. Many of these passages are concerned with intricacies of classification regarding those five categories or stages and their respective "eschatological" implications⁴¹ and are not very relevant for the understanding of an *antarābhava*. The most current strain of interpretation that appears from the material available seems to take an *antarāparinibbāyin* as a type of *anāgāmin* who reaches *nibbāna* before half of his lifetime in a *brahmā*-world has expired⁴². The interpretation of an *antarāparinibbāyin* as a type

³⁹ Here used in its later -- in *abhidharma* and the commentaries -- generally accepted meaning of a "non-returner", one who does not return (to rebirth as a man, but will be reborn in one of the highest heavens and there obtain arhantship): the third stage of four in the breaking of the bonds (*saṃyojanas*) which keep a man back from arhantship. In the oldest passage referring to these four stages, the description of the third does not use the word *anāgāmin* (*DN* I, p.156, II, p.92, III, p.107; *MN* p.146) and *anāgāmin* does not mean breaking the bonds, but cultivation of certain good habits (*SN* III, p.168, V, pp.200-202; *AN* I, pp.64 & 120, II, p.160, V, pp.86 & 171), explanation and references extracted from a dictionary-entry in Rhys-Davids and Stede (1921), p.31b-32a; for a more elaborate treatment and more references the reader is referred to this article. Seven and nine classes of *anāgāmin-s* are also met with (see Jenner in Höbögirin, Vol.5, p.496b, II.44f. and p.498b, II.9ff.).

There are further subdivisions of *antarāparinirvāyin-s* too, they will not be discussed here, the reader is referred to Jenner's article in Höbögirin, Vol.5, p.498b, II.13ff.).

⁴⁰ E.g. *DN* III, p.237, II.21-23; *Kv* I, p.105, II.32-34, p.215, II.13-15 and II.24-28; I, p.275, II.10-15; p.215, II.29-35; II p.361, I.8 - p.366, I.25; *Pp* (*māṇikā*) p.3, II.14-19, p.16, I.20 - p.17, I.25 (a little bit more elaborate as to what an *antarāparinibbāyin* is supposed to represent, quoted in the following), p.74, II.22-28; *Vism* pp.709-710 (more elaborate treatment, II.8-15 are quoted in the following); *SN* V, p.69, I.22 - p.70, I.24, p.201, II.10-21 and p.204, I.26 - p.205, I.6, p.237, II.12-15, p.285, II.18-20, p.315, II.20-23, p.378, II.21-25; *AN* I, p.233, II.28-35, I, p.234, I.18 - p.235, I.13 (more elaborate treatment), II, p.134, II.20-37 (more elaborate treatment, cf. *Pp* p.16, I.20 - p.17, I.25), IV, p.13, I.28 - p.14, I.6, IV, p.14, I.28 - p.15, I.4, IV, p.70, I.8 - p.74, I.18 (more elaborate treatment), IV, p.146, II.13-17, IV, p.379, I.23 - p.380, I.16 (more elaborate treatment), V, p.120, II.5-8 and p.120, II.21-24; *Paṭi* I, p.161, II.12-14 and p.161, II.22-25 (cf. next); *Netta* p.189, I.32 - p.190, I.4; *Pj* I I, p.182, II.24-26; *Ud-a* p.92, I.20 - p.94, I.24 (cf. the following); *Spk* II, p.372, I.27 - p.373, I.25.

⁴¹ In a text of the *sutapitaku*, the *Āṅguttaranikāya*, the *antarāparinibbāyin* is further specified as released from the fetters pertaining to the lower (*kāma*-world, i.e. the first five *saṃyojana-s*: *sakkāya-diṭṭhi*, *vicikicchā*, *silabbataparāmaṣo*, *kāmacchando*, *vyāpādo*), released from the fetters of attaining rebirth, but not released from the fetters of coming into existence:

AN II, p.134, II.25-29 (cf. *NAN* II, p.241, I.27 - p.242, I.4):

4. Katamassa bhikkhave puggalassa orambhāgiyāni saṃyojanāni pahīnāni, uppattipāṭilābhikāni¹ saṃyojanāni pahīnāni, bhavapaṭilābhikāni saṃyojanāni appahīnāni?
Antarāparinibbāyissa. Imassa kho bhikkhave puggalassa orambhāgiyāni saṃyojanāni pahīnāni, uppattipāṭilābhikāni² saṃyojanāni pahīnāni, bhavapaṭilābhikāni saṃyojanāni appahīnāni.

¹ NA: upapatti-

² NA: upapatti-

(N.B. at the moment I can give no arguments either for or against the variant reading *uppatti/ upapatti*, see notes on *Kv* II, p.361, I.8 - p.366, I.26 (cf. *NKv* p.319, I.4 - p.323, I.18) below).

For a more elaborate exposition on the release of these fetters see *AN* IV, p.70, I.4 - p.74, I.22, esp. p.70, I.9 - p.72, I.2.

⁴² See for example the *abhidhamma*-text *Puggalapaññāti*, *Pp* p.16, II.20ff. (= *NPP* p.26, I.1 - p.27, I.11):

41. Katamo ca puggalo anāgāmi?

Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhaya opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyi anāvatthidhammo tasmā lokā: ayaṃ vuccati puggalo anāgāmi.

42. Katamo ca puggalo antarā-parinibbāyi?

Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhaya opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyi anāvatthidhammo tasmā lokā: so upapannaṃ¹ vā sannaṃ antarā apattaṃ vā vemajjhaṃ

of *anāgāmin* who reaches *nibbāna* from an *antarābhava* is sometimes mentioned as the view of "an opponent"⁴³ and it is also propounded in *Vasubandhu's Abhidharma-kośabhāṣya*⁴⁴. *Vasubandhu* gives no reference in support of this interpretation. He

āyupamāṇaṃ ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti upariṭṭhimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya: ayaṃ vuccati puggalo antarā-parinibbāyī.

43. *Katamo ca puggalo upahacca-parinibbāyī?*

Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyī anāvatthidhammo tasmā lokā: so atikkamitvā vemaṃjhaṃ āyupamāṇaṃ upahacca vā kālakiriyaṃ¹ ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti upariṭṭhimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya: ayaṃ vuccati puggalo upahacca-parinibbāyī.

44. *Katamo ca puggalo asaṅkhāra-parinibbāyī?*

Idh'ekaceo puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyī anāvatthidhammo tasmā lokā: so asaṅkhāreṇa ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti upariṭṭhimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya: ayaṃ vuccati puggalo asaṅkhāra-parinibbāyī.

45. *Katamo ca puggalo sasāṅkhāra-parinibbāyī?*

Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyī anāvatthidhammo tasmā lokā: so sasāṅkhāreṇa ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti upariṭṭhimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya: ayaṃ vuccati puggalo sasāṅkhāra-parinibbāyī.

46. *Katamo ca puggalo uddhamso akaniṭṭhagāmī?*

Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyī anāvatthidhammo tasmā lokā: so aviḥā cuto atappaṃ gacchati, atappā cuto sudassaṃ gacchati, sudassa cuto sudassaṃ gacchati, sudassiyā² cuto akaniṭṭhaṃ gacchati, akaniṭṭhe ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti upariṭṭhimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya: ayaṃ vuccati puggalo uddhamso akaniṭṭhagāmī.

¹ Budsir IV, uppannaṃ. Note *NPP*, *Si*, *Syā*, uppannaṃ.

² Note *NPP*, *Si*, kāl(?)akiriyaṃ.

³ Note *NPP*, *Si*, sudassa.

Cf. *AN* II, p.134, ll.20-37, and cf. *Vism* pp.709-710, esp. p.710, ll.8-15; *abhidhamma* by *Buddhaghosa* fifth century AD:

4. Tattha antarā parinibbāyī ti yathā katthaci Suddhāvāsabhavo upapajjitvā āyuvemaṃjhaṃ appatvā va parinibbāyati. Upahacca parinibbāyī ti āyuvemaṃjhaṃ atikkamitvā parinibbāyati. Asaṅkhāra-parinibbāyī ti asaṅkhāreṇa appayogena uparimaggam nibbatteti. Sasāṅkhāraparinibbāyī ti sasāṅkhāreṇa sappayogena uparimaggam nibbatteti. Uddhamso, Akaniṭṭhagāmī ti yathuppanno, tato uddham yāva Akaniṭṭhaghavā āruyha tattha parinibbāyati.

⁴³ For instance in the *Kathāvatthu* see *Kv* II, p.366, ll.7-24 (vss.12-13, discussed below), where this viewpoint is associated with *Pubbhaseliya-s* and *Sammitiya-s*. See also the *Udāna*-commentary *Paramatthadīpanī Udānatthakathā* (*Ud-a* p.92, l.20 - p.93, l.17), commentary by *Dhammapāla* on *Udāna*-anthology ("verses of uplift"), the *Udāna*-passage that is being commented upon hardly allows the discussion that "some people" are said to have generated on its behalf). Both an *antarābhava* and an *antarāparinibbāyin* pertaining to it are denied, the speculations concerning it are denounced as being based on misinterpretations of scriptural evidence (cf. the short commentary on the same passage in the *Sāratthappakāsinī* (commentary by *Buddhaghosa* on *S*): *Spk* II, p.372, l.27-p.373, l.2) also denying an *antarābhava* on the same grounds).

⁴⁴ *AbhKBh* III, p.411, ll.5-11 = *Pradhan* (1975), p.122, ll.2-7. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.38), the relevant part is cited and translated below.

(Cf. *AS* p.90, ll.9-14 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.155):

antarāparinirvāyī katamaḥ l' upapattisaṃyojane prahīne abhinivṛtisaṃyojane aprahīne [T.118a] antarābhavam abhinivarttayann eva yo 'mārgam saṃmukhikṛtya duḥkhasyāntam anuprāpnoti abhinivṛto vā antarābhavo upapattibhavadagamanāya 'cetayann eva yo mārgam saṃmukhikṛtya

does mention an allegedly *Vibhajyavādin*-opinion in favour of the former interpretation, recorded in *Vibhāṣā* 69, 7⁴⁵, which is cited in *AbhKbh* III, p.413, ll.1f. = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.14-16 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.38):

anye punar āhuḥ -- āyuhpramāṇāntare⁴⁶ vā devasamīpāntare vā yaḥ kleśān prajāhāti so 'ntarāparinirvāyī (sa punar dhātugato vā parinirvāti ...)

Others, again, say: 'An *antarāparinirvāyin* is someone who relinquishes his defilements either when 'in-between' regarding his life-span or when 'in-between' regarding his presence with gods. (The passage continues with an explanation of the tripartition of an *antarāparinirvāyin* into a *dhātugato*, a *saṃjñāgato*, and a *vitarkagato*).'⁴⁷

Both interpretations were, apparently, already current at the time of the *Kathāvatthu*, *Udāna* (& *Aṭṭhakathā*), *Mahāvibhāṣā* and *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. The "*antarābhava*-interpretation" appears to have been the latest (as far as textual evidence is concerned) and apparently the more controversial of the two. It is difficult to decide on the basis of the material discussed so far which is the "oldest" or "more original" interpretation. Evidence points towards the first interpretation as having enjoyed the aura of orthodoxy first, but it is not unthinkable that a large part of evidence of the second interpretation is not yet accessible, was lost, or maybe even has developed underground rather than having been committed to writing. Theories concerning an *antarābhava* do not seem to have been matters eagerly recorded in earlier stages of *Buddhism*. Nevertheless more or less popular speculations regarding it might still

duḥkhasyāntam anuprāpnoti | abhisamcetayitvā vā upapattibhavam abhisamprasthitāḥ^(*) [bhavānu]papatticchanaṃ 'yo mārgaṃ saṃmukhikṛtya duḥkhasyāntam anuprāpnoti ||

Cf. also *ASBh* p.120, ll.16-20:

(XVII) *antarāparinirvāyī* yena kṣēṣāvedhenopapattideśam gatvā pratisandadhāt tatparikṣaye sati yenānūsāyamāreṇa maraṇāḍ ūrdhvaṃ skandhān abhinirvartayan tadavaśeṣe sati antarābhavam abhinirvartya pūrvābhyastamārgasaṃmukhībhāvād eva sa viśiṣṭānu[Ms.113a]śaya'prahāṇe parinirvātī⁴ | sa punar upapattideśam pratyaruṇcealitoccalitamātrādūragabhāvasthatayā tri'vidho vedītavyaḥ satpuriṣagatūtrānūsāreṇa |

¹ cf. sakṛti ityadhikam |

² cf. atrot(amtā ca āryamārgaṃ |

³ cf. abhinirvartayan ityadhikam |

⁴ cf. mo- cchandaṃ nāstī |

⁵ Ms. adds -ha-.

⁶ Ch. adds here abhinirvartito vāntarābhavopapattibhavasamanāya cetayann eva yo mārgaṃ saṃmukhikṛtya viśiṣṭānuśaya'prahāṇe parinirvātī | abhisamcetayitvā vopapattibhavamabhisamprasthitāḥ bhavānupapattīryo mārgaṃ saṃmukhikṛtya viśiṣṭānuśaya'prahāṇe parinirvātī.

⁷ Ms. stri-.)

⁴⁵ *Vibhāṣā* 69, 7 = Taishō (Vol.27) 1545 (Chptr. 69), p.357b, ll.21-22 and b, l.26 - c, l.4. This and following are references to the chapters and subsections of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* as edited in Taishō (Vol.27f.) 1545-47. I herewith follow the method of reference used in Vallée Poussin (1923ff.).

⁴⁶ Pradhan (1975): āyupramāṇāntare.

⁴⁷ The *Spūṭārthā*-commentary by *Yasomitra* explains the terms *āyuhpramāṇāntare* and *devasamīpāntare*:

anye punar āhur iti vistarāḥ | āyusaḥ pramāṇaṃ tasyāntaraṃ tasmin āyuhpramāṇāntare 'pari-samāpta āyusṭi arthāḥ | devasamīpāntare vā devānām antīkaṃ devasamīpaṃ galasy āntare yaḥ kleśān prajāhāti so 'ntarāparinirvāyī | (sa punar dhātugato vā parinirvātī | ...).

For a discussion of two possible interpretations of these terms see Jenner in *Höbögirin*, Vol.5, p.497a, l.38 - p.498b, l.40.

have been going on in one way or the other, as might be testified by the fact that the first references to an *antarābhava* are complaints concerning the wrong views of certain sects that purportedly have misinterpreted the *sutta*-phrases that they tried to adduce as evidence. If the first interpretation, in which an *antarāparinibbāyin* is contrasted with an *upahaccaparinibbāyin*, would be the most original, that is to say, if its name was designed to be contrasted with the latter -- as it, regarding its 'above definition, in fact is -- than the term *antarā* does not seem to be the most eloquent choice. In analogy to the pair *asāṅkhāra*- and *sasāṅkhāraparinibbāyin*, one would at least have expected something like an *anupahaccaparinibbāyin* here. In this respect the first interpretation of an *antarāparinibbāyin* seems to be a reinterpretation already. In a reference to the *Mahāvibhāṣā* in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* mention is made of still another interpretation, (indirectly) referred to in *Mahāvibhāṣā* 69, 7⁴⁸:

AbhKBh III, p.411, ll.9-11 = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.5-7 (Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.38):

... asaty antarābhavā katham antarāparinirvāyī nāma syāt! antarā nāma devāḥ santīty eke | upapadyādāyo 'pi hi nāma devā evaṃ sati prasajyante⁴⁹ | tasmān neyaṃ kalpanā sādhvī |

... If an *antarābhava* does not exist, how could there be (a class) called *antarāparinirvāyī*! Some (maintain): "That are deities named *Antaru*-s". This being so, gods named *Upapadya*-s etc. (would) also be applicable, wouldn't they? Therefore this construction is not right.⁵⁰

A lot more remains to be said about an *antarāparinibbāyin*, but that would require research into the origins and developments of this concept and into discussions regarding it in different schools of older *Buddhism*, a time-consuming undertaking that does not seem to lead to results that would be of much relevance to this thesis. Therefore I should like to leave the discussion of the term at this modest level of elaboration.

It might be interesting, however, to note here that speculations regarding an *antarāparinibbāyin*, notably the first two interpretations mentioned, seem to have survived until this day in the practice of '*pho ba*'⁵¹, the transferring of perception into *Amitābha*'s Western Paradise *bDe ba can* (Skt. *Sukhāvatī*) at death and the concept of *bar do'i thos grol* (being "released by hearing in the *bar do*-s") after death successively.

We shall now return to the term *antarābhava*. In another *abhidhamma*-work, the *Kathāvatthu*, we find in a section named *antarābhavakathā* a rather lengthy discussion concerning an *antarābhava*. Even though the *antarābhavakathā* is not very informative regarding an *antarābhava* itself, it still is of some interest to us here, as it may help to illustrate the nature of the "paper"-wars waged on or against its behalf⁵².

⁴⁸ As pointed out by Jenner in *Hôbôgirin*, Vol.5, p.498a, ll.29-31, Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.38, l.15 erroneously refers to *Vibhāṣā* 79, 7 (unlike the reference on p.39, l.6).

⁴⁹ Pradhan (1975), *prasajyate*.

⁵⁰ See further arguments against this interpretation concluded in *AbhKBh* III, pp.412, ll.3-4 = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.13f. (Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.39), the interpretation is not valid because it does not allow of the tripartition of the *antarāparinirvāyī* (into a *dhātugata*, a *saṃjñāgata*, and a *viturkagata*) as it is discussed there.

⁵¹ See e.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, ll.13-16, cf. Specific Literature on '*Pho ba*', listed in Appendix I.

⁵² *Pāli* text and summarising translation by Aung and Rhys-Davids (1915) of the *antarābhavakathā* are included in the work-editions in Appendix II(a). A similar discussion but now from the point of view of the proponents of an *antarābhava* can be found in the considerably later

The concern that underlies the first objections raised against the existence of an *antarābhava* in this polemic text -- to wit, that it should either be a *kāma*bhava, *rūpa*bhava, or an *arūpa*bhava and that it should be intermediate between these states -- is also voiced in all kinds of opinions regarding this question that the *Mahāvibhāṣā* reviews before presenting, last but not least, its own ideas, *Mahāvibhāṣā* 19, 4:

La Vibhāṣā signale plusieurs opinions: pas d'*antarābhava*; *antarābhava* précèdent la naissance dans les trois Dhātus; *antarābhava* précèdent la naissance de Kāmadhātu; enfin, le seule opinion correcte, *antarābhava* précèdent la naissance de Kāmadhātu et Rūpadhātu.⁵³

The possibilities of *antarābhava*-s have experienced a considerable proliferation in the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*⁵⁴, where we find no less than seventeen (sub)species of *antarābhava* mentioned. In this *sūtra* we also find reference to another important theoretical issue that apparently gave rise to some problems, i.e. which *skandha*(-s) survive(s) after death and transmigrate(s) in an intermediate state⁵⁵, an

Sammitīyanikāyaśāstra (translated by Venkataramanan (1953), see Cousins (1994), esp. pp.20f., on this text).

⁵³ Summary by Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1; see the last note in the following passage by Li-kouang and the first item at the enumeration of properties of an *antarābhava*.

⁵⁴ See Li-kouang (1949), pp.52-53, cf. Taishō 721.6.2 (pp.152-209) and PTT 37.243.3.5-38.24.1.6; notes in 8 point size as in Li-kouang (1949):

2. *Les Trāyastriṃśa* (K. 25-35), i) Les dix-sept espèces d'*antarābhava*

Sous la rubrique 17, le texte décrit dix-sept espèces d'existence intermédiaire (*tchong-yin, antarābhava*): 1. l'existence intermédiaire de ceux qui meurent au Jambudvīpa et, renaissent aux cieux; 2. celle de ceux qui meurent au Jambudvīpa et renaissent dans l'Uttarakuru; 3. celle de ceux qui meurent au Jambudvīpa et renaissent au Pūrvavideha; 5. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakuru et renaissent, aux cieux (cette renaissance est dite inférieure); 6. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakuru et renaissent aux cieux (renaissance moyenne); 7. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakuru et renaissent au ciel des Trāyastriṃśa (renaissance supérieure); 8. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakuru et renaissent au ciel des Trāyastriṃśa (? la même que la précédente ?); 9. celle de ceux qui meurent au Godānīya et renaissent aux cieux; 10. celle de ceux qui meurent au Pūrvavideha et renaissent aux cieux; 11. celle de ceux qui meurent parmi les Preta et renaissent aux cieux; 12. celle de ceux qui meurent comme animaux et renaissent aux deux premiers cieux; 13. celle de ceux qui meurent dans les enfers et renaissent aux cieux; (14.) celle de ceux qui meurent au Jambudvīpa et renaissent encore au Jambudvīpa; 15. celle de ceux qui meurent dans des cieux inférieurs et renaissent dans des cieux supérieurs; 16. celle de ceux qui meurent dans des cieux supérieurs et renaissent dans des cieux inférieurs; 17. celle de ceux qui meurent au Pūrvavideha et renaissent au Godānīya et *vice versa*¹.

¹ Cf. SUS, k. 34, S. XIV, 2, pp. 75b-78b; N.B. SUS = *SaddharmasmṛtyUpasthānaSūtra*.

⁵⁵ See Li-kouang (1949), pp.52-53:

Vu les lieux de naissance énumérés (les quatre continents, les trois *durgati* et les cieux), cet exposé implique l'admission de l'existence de l'*antarābhava* dans le Kāmadhātu et dans le Rūpadhātu. C'est là, comme on le sait, une des doctrines caractéristiques des Sarvāstivādin¹, et que reconnaissaient aussi les Saṃmitīya et les Pubbaseliya² mais que refutaient les Mahāsāṅghika, les Mahīśāsaka³ et les Vibhājjavādin (pāli : Vibhajjavādin ou Vibhājavādin)⁴, ainsi que les Theravādin de la tradition méridionale⁵. Dans un autre passage du SUS⁶ (en prose), sur la mort des damnés de l'Avīci, il est dit : "... Ces damnés étant morts ainsi, la matière de leur existence intermédiaire (*tchong-yeou-sō, antarābhava-rūpa*) se produit; elle est invisible (*pou-kien, anidaršana*), plus forte que tout obstacle (*pou-touei, apratighavant*), et leur corps est pareil à celui d'un enfant de huit ans..."⁷. La situation doctrinale du SUS, en ce qui concerne l'*antarābhava*, coïncide donc avec celle des Sarvāstivādin, selon lesquels "dans tous les lieux de naissance des *dhātu* matériels (*yeou-sō-kiai*, c'est-à-dire Kāmadhātu et Rūpadhātu) existe l'*antarābhava*, où l'on reçoit aussi rétribution

issue by the way, that in the *antarābhavakathā* of the *Kathāvatthu* is addressed as one of the problems that should be accounted for by those advocating an *antarābhava*⁵⁶. We shall return to this *sūtra* after the discussion of some later *abhidharma*-works.

As far as this study is concerned it would not be appropriate to go beyond noting that these theoretical discussions do exist, an elaborate treatment of the various theories concerning these points should not detain us here.

We shall, however, return to the "*skandha*-problem" at several occasions in the following. The acceptance of an *antarābhava* by some schools seems to have had unwelcome implications for them as to who experiences such an *antarābhava* and how to define or explain the situation in terms of *skandha*-s, for, in a continuation of perception beyond death in a disembodied state, the suggestion of some kind of imperishable entity ("a soul") stands out rather conspicuously. Some measure of unease regarding the obviously quite unsatisfactory state of current *Buddhist* theory for conceptualising dying, death, and rebirth in this manner seems to have contributed in no small degree to the construction of more sophisticated theories and speculations regarding the moment of death and a supposed period immediately after; ultimately, as we shall see in chapter 2, resulting in descriptions of a separate *bar do* for such a phase.

Another issue that I should like to briefly introduce here concerns a possible relation between theories regarding *pratītyasamutpāda* and *antarābhava*. In the twelvefold chain of dependent origination the third *nidāna*, *viññāna*, is preceded by *avidyā* and *saṃskāra*-s. At this point I am not aware of any convincing theories either for or against a temporal precedence of a tenfold over a twelvefold version of a *pratītyasamutpāda* or vice versa, all I may safely say now is that both do not belong to the earliest strata in *Buddhist* theory⁵⁷. As we shall see in chapter 3, the concepts *avidyā* and *saṃskāra*-s play a role of pivotal importance in later descriptions of the *chos ŋid bar do* in the *Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, quite in accordance with the notion that mental dispositions and habitual tendencies are a predominant factor under these circumstances. These two *nidāna*-s cause some tension in the general interpretation of *viññāna* as referring to the moment of conception⁵⁸. It might be significant in this respect that in later works, like the *Lalitavistara* and the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*⁵⁹,

consistant en *rūpa-skandha*", c'est-à-dire que dans l'*antarābhava* existe le *rūpa-skandha*, aussi bien qu'y existent les quatre autres *skandha*⁶⁰.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Mahā-vibhāṣā* (voir inf., note 5); *Kaśā*, III, 14.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Kathā*, VIII, 2. En ce qui concerne les *Suṃmitīya*, cf. aussi le *San-mi-ti-pou-louen*, k. 3, T. 1649, S. XXIV, 4, pp. 45a-48a, qui confirme bien la donnée du *Kathā*.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Samayabhedopā*, T. nr. 2031, p. 16a, 17a; Tanjur, *Mā*, XC, II 1, éd. rouge de Pékin, p. 172b, 176a.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Mahā-vibhāṣā*, k. 68, S. XXII, 3, p. 74b; k. 69, p. 76a; k. 135, S. XXII, 6, p. 35b; k. 175, S. XXII, 7, p. 88b; voir aussi k. 60, S. XXII, 3, p. 37b (où est citée la théorie des *Vibhāṣyavādīn* selon laquelle "l'esprit non-souillé assure aussi la continuation de l'existence").

⁶⁰ Cf. *Kathā*, VIII, 2.

⁶¹ N.B. SUS = *SaddharmasmṛtyUpasthānaSūtra*.

⁶² Cf. SUS, k. 13, S. XIV, 1, p. 59b.

⁶³ *Mahā-vibhāṣā*, k. 119, S. XXII, 5, p. 79a, où, avant donner cette théorie proprement *Sarvāstivādin*, le texte cite six autres théories concernant l'*antarābhava*, toutes différentes de la théorie de SUS.

⁵⁶ See *Kv* II, p.362, ll.22-24, = *NKv* p.321, ll.5f..

⁵⁷ See e.g. Bernhard (1968), references to sources there. In a recent article Vetter (1994) discusses some material relevant to developments in *pratītyasamutpāda*-versions; the position of *avidyā* and *saṃskāra*-s is not discussed there.

⁵⁸ See in Vetter (1988), pp.45ff., esp. pp.47f., where the awkwardness of this construction is discussed from a different angle.

⁵⁹ See for instance *AbhKBh* III, where this assumption is elaborated on the basis of *kārikā*-s 20-21 (*AbhKBh* III, p.436, l.8 - p.437, l.11 = Pradhan (1975), p.131, l.15 - p.132, l.6).

avidyā and *saṃskāra*-s have been associated with influences from a previous life. The conceptualisation of an intermediate state ruled by *karmic* influences might have profited to some extent from this confusion concerning the first two *nidāna*-s in the twelvefold chain⁶⁰.

More relevant for this study are considerations in later *abhidharma*-works. The most elaborate treatment of an *antarābhava* is to be found in the third chapter of the *Abhidharmakośa* and its *Bhāṣya* attributed to *Vasubandhu*⁶¹, which we incidentally have referred to already in the foregoing. But the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, too, presents a considerable amount of material on the subject.

First I should like to present a short survey of the contents regarding *kārikā*-s and *bhāṣya* and a table of references:

⁶⁰ This possible connection was mentioned already (more or less indirectly) by Wayman (1974), pp.229f..

⁶¹ Probably to be dated somewhere around the fourth or fifth century, for recent considerations regarding "a *Vasubandhu*" see Schmithausen (1992).

Short indication of the contents of the relevant parts of *AbhKBh* III:

ad 4b-d (p.389, l.16 - p.392, l.10) ⁶² ;	an <i>antarābhava</i> is not a <i>gati</i> ;
ad 9b-c (p.402, l.3 - p.404, l.10) ⁶³ ;	an <i>antarābhava</i> is <i>upapāduka</i> ;
ad 10 (p.405, ll.1-9) ⁶⁴ ;	definition of <i>antarābhava</i> ;
ad 11-12b (p.405, l.10 - p.410, l.1) ⁶⁵ ;	evidence of the existence of an <i>antarābhava</i> ;
ad 12c (p.410, l.2 - p.410, l.3) ⁶⁶ ;	evidence continued: the intermediate being is equivalent with the <i>gandhabba</i> ;
ad 12d (p.411, l.5 - p.419, l.9) ⁶⁷ ;	further proof;
ad 13a-b (p.419, l.10 - p.422, l.15) ⁶⁸ ;	intermediate being bears resemblance to being of (future) <i>pūrvakālabhava</i> ;
ad 13c-d (p.422, l.16 - p.423, l.3) ⁶⁹ ;	definition <i>pūrvakālabhava</i> ;
ad 14 (p.423, l.4 - p.426, l.14) ⁷⁰ ;	properties of the intermediate being;
ad 15 (p.426, l.15 - p.429, l.17) ⁷¹ ;	desire destines rebirth; vision of parents while in the act of cohabitation;
ad 16-17 (p.429, l.17 - p.432, l.7) ⁷² ;	four <i>garbhāvakrānti</i> -s;
ad 18 (p.432, l.8 - p.433, l.6) ⁷³ ;	not an <i>ātman</i> but the <i>skandha</i> -s enter the womb;
ad 19 (p.433, l.7 - p.435, l.8) ⁷⁴ ;	(cycle) of rebirth;
ad 20-37c (p.435, l.9 - p.490, l.21) ⁷⁵ ;	discussion of the <i>pratītyasamutpāda</i> in this context;
ad 37d-38c (p.490, l.21 - p.491, l.17) ⁷⁶ ;	discussion of four <i>bhava</i> -s (<i>antarābhava</i> , <i>upa-</i> <i>pattibhava</i> , <i>pūrvakālabhava</i> , <i>marāṇabhava</i>);
ad 38d-41 (p.492, l.1 - p.500, l.9) ⁷⁷ ;	nutrition in the different realms (N.B. 40c-41a (p.494, l.8 - p.496, l.13) ⁷⁸ : explanation of the synonyms for an intermediate being);
ad 42-44 (p.501, l.1 - p.505, l.8) ⁷⁹ ;	<i>vijñāna</i> in birth and death and observations re- garding the process of dying;
ad 45ff. (pp.505, ll.6ff.) ⁸⁰ ;	not relevant to the subject of the present con- cern.

⁶² See Pradhan (1975), p.114, l.12 - p.115, l.16 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.12-15.⁶³ See Pradhan (1975), p.119, l.3 - p.120, l.5 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.28-31.⁶⁴ See Pradhan (1975), p.120, ll.6-14 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.31-33 (N.B. p.32, n.1: refer-
ences).⁶⁵ See Pradhan (1975), p.120, l.14 - p.121, l.18 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.33-36.⁶⁶ See Pradhan (1975), p.121, l.18 - p.122, l.2 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.36-38.⁶⁷ See Pradhan (1975), p.122, l.2 - p.123, l.19 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.38-42.⁶⁸ See Pradhan (1975), p.123, l.20 - p.124, l.18 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.43-45.⁶⁹ See Pradhan (1975), p.124, ll.19-23 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.45-46.⁷⁰ See Pradhan (1975), p.124, l.24 - p.126, l.18 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.46-50.⁷¹ See Pradhan (1975), p.126, l.19 - p.127, l.27 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.50-54.⁷² See Pradhan (1975), p.127, l.27 - p.129, l.4 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.54-56.⁷³ See Pradhan (1975), p.129, ll.5-21 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.56f..⁷⁴ See Pradhan (1975), p.129, l.21 - p.131, l.2 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.57-60.⁷⁵ See Pradhan (1975), p.131, l.3 - p.151, l.15 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.60-117.⁷⁶ See Pradhan (1975), p.151, l.15 - p.152, l.6 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.117-119.⁷⁷ See Pradhan (1975), p.152, l.7 - p.155, l.19 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.119-131.⁷⁸ See Pradhan (1975), p.153, l.9 - p.154, l.8 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.122-125.⁷⁹ See Pradhan (1975), p.155, l.20 - p.157, l.11 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.131-136.⁸⁰ See Pradhan (1975), pp.157, ll.1 ff. and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.137ff..

References to:

manomayakāya

AbhKBh II.243, l.20
(II.209)*

AbhKBh III.494, l.13
(III.122), cf. 555,
II.18-21 (204, esp.
n.3)

Cf. *AbhKBh* IV.741, II.9-11
(IV.234)

AbhKBh VIII (VI.140, n.2),
cf. II.243, l.20,
(II.209)*

antarāparinirvāyin

AbhKBh III.411, l.6 -414,
l.7 (38-40); 495, l.2
(123)

AbhKBh VI.948, II.1-5.
(V.210); 952,
19-959, l.12
(215-220); 963,
1.4-965, l.7
(225-227)

antarābhava

AbhKBh I.101, II.20f.
(I.72)*

AbhKBh III.389-392
(III.12-15);
402-426 (29-50);
426, II.13-15 (53);
433-435 (57-60);
491f. (117-119);
501, l.7 (131)

AbhKBh IV.660, II.9-13.
(IV.119); 702,
II.13-15 (176)

AbhKBh VI.940, II.1-4
(V.201f.); 940, II.
5-7 (V.202f.); 948,
15 (210); cf. 959,
II.8-12. (220)

AbhKBh VII.1110, II.4-7
(VI.103)

AbhKBh IX (VI.258,
esp.n.2)
(cf. PTT.115.277.4.
7-283.5.8: *gañ zag*
dgag pa)

N.B. all references are to the *AbhKBh*-edition by Swāmī Śāstri!⁴¹

For reasons of space not all the material gathered in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* can be discussed here. Most of the material that *Vasubandhu* presents regarding an *antarābhava*, pertains, as I indicated in the introductory remarks to this chapter, to a state that we find characterised later, in Tibetan *Buddhist Bar do'i thos grol*-texts, as *srid pa'i bar do*, the *bar do* of becoming. As this *bar do* is not our main concern here, I shall as much as possible confine myself here to the passages that are relevant to a concept of *bar do* in general and to the later concept of a *chos űid bar do* in particular⁴².

In the general conception of an *antarābhava* the most important features that stand out in *Vasubandhu's* presentation are:

- an *antarābhava* is intermediate between two *gati-s*⁴³ and as such it stretches between the phase of dying (*mṛtyu/maraṇabhava*) and the phase of rebirth (*upapattibhava*)⁴⁴;

⁴¹ References marked with an "*" appear in the *Sphūṭārthavyākhyā* by *Yaśomitra* only; the number between brackets refers to the page-number in the translation by Vallée Poussin (1923-31), *AbhKBh* I&II correspond to Vallée Poussin Vol.II (1923), *AbhKBh* III is represented in Vallée Poussin III (1926), *AbhKBh* IV in Vallée Poussin IV (1924), *AbhKBh* V&VI in Vallée Poussin V (1925), *AbhKBh* VII-IX in Vallée Poussin VI (1925a).

References to Pradhan (1975):

AbhKBh I, p.101, ll.20f. (I.72)* not in Pradhan (1975).
AbhKBh II, p.243, l.20 (II.209)* not in Pradhan (1975).
AbhKBh III, p.389, l.16 - p.392, l.10 (III.12-15) = Pradhan (1975), p.114, l.12 - p.115, l.16
AbhKBh III, p.402, l.3 - p.426, l.14 (III.29-50) = Pradhan (1975), p.119, l.3 - p.126, l.18.
AbhKBh III, p.411, l.6 - p.414, l.7 (III.38-40) = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.3-25.
AbhKBh III, p.426, ll.13-15 (III.53) = Pradhan (1975), p., ll.17-19.
AbhKBh III, p.433, l.7 - p.435, l.8 (III.57-60) = Pradhan (1975), p.129, l.21 - p.131, l.2.
AbhKBh III, p.490, l.21 - p.492, l.9 (III.117-119) = Pradhan (1975), p.151, l.15 - p.152, l.14.
AbhKBh III, p.494, l.13 (III.122) = Pradhan (1975), p.153, ll.13f..
AbhKBh III, p.495, l.2 (III.123) = Pradhan (1975), p.153, ll.18f..
AbhKBh III, p.501, l.7 (III.131) = Pradhan (1975), p.155, ll.24f..
AbhKBh III, p.554, ll.3-7 (III.204, esp. n.3) = Pradhan (1975), p.186, ll.21-24.
AbhKBh IV, p.660, ll.9-13. (IV.119) = Pradhan (1975), p.231, ll.10-14.
AbhKBh IV, p.702, ll.13-15 (IV.176) = Pradhan (1975), p.250, ll.22-24.
AbhKBh IV, p.741, ll.9-11 (IV.234) = Pradhan (1975), p.268, ll.19-21.
AbhKBh VI, p.940, ll.1-4 (V.201f.) = Pradhan (1975), p.356, ll.9-11.
AbhKBh VI, p.940, ll.5-7. (V.202f.) = Pradhan (1975), p.356, ll.12-14.
AbhKBh VI, p.948, ll.1-5. (V.210) = Pradhan (1975), p.358, l.19 - p.359, l.1.
AbhKBh VI, p.948, l.5 (V.210) = Pradhan (1975), p.358, l.22 - p.359, l.1.
AbhKBh VI, p.952, l.9 - p.959, l.12 (V.215-220) = Pradhan (1975), p.360, l.1 - p.362, l.9.
AbhKBh VI, p.959, ll.8-12. (V.220) = Pradhan (1975), p.362, ll.6-9.
AbhKBh VI, p.963, l.4 - p.965, l.7 (V.225-227) = Pradhan (1975), p.363, l.24 - p.364, l.9.
AbhKBh VII, p.1110, ll.4-7 (VI.103) = Pradhan (1975), p.422, ll.7-12.
AbhKBh VIII (VI.140, n.2) not applicable.
AbhKBh IX (VI.258, esp. n.2) (cf. P.T.115.277.4.7-283.5.8: *gan zag dgag pu* = Pradhan (1975), pp.461-479).

⁴² Notably *kārikā-s* 4, 9-12, 14 and 37-38 with *bhāṣya* (and *Yaśomitra's* *Spūṭārthavyākhyā*).

⁴³ See *AbhKBh* III, p.389, l.16 - p.392, l.10 (III.12-15) = Pradhan (1975), p.114, l.12 - p.115, l.16 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.12-15) and *AbhKBh* III, p.405, ll.3f. = Pradhan (1975), p.120, ll.8f. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.33): so 'ntarābhava ity ucyate; gatyor antārālatvāt', longer citation below).

According to *Vasubandhu* here is no *antarābhava* before a birth in the *ārūpyadhātu* (indirectly stated in *AbhKBh* III, p.423, ll.2f. = Pradhan (1975), p.124, ll.23f. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.46).

Cf. AS p.42, l.24 - p.25, l.1 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

- it is not a *gati* itself⁸⁶, properly speaking one is not born there⁸⁷;

antarābhava(h) kāmadhātāu rūpadhātāu copapadyamānasyārūpyadhātōś cyavamānasya |

See the information regarding this point in the passage by Li-kouang (1949) that was cited earlier in this paragraph.

The properties of beings pertaining to an intermediate state were thought to be similar to those of beings in a *rūpadhātu* as well as to humans of the first kalpa (e.g. *AbhKBh* III, p.554, ll.3-7 = Pradhan (1975), p.186, ll.21-24 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.203f.) and see also the *Uḍāyisūtra* as it is cited in *AbhKBh* II, p.241, l.6 - p.243, l.6 = Pradhan (1975), p.71, l.26 - p.72, l.7 (Vallée Poussin II (1923), pp.209f.) -- the gods possessing a body of mental origin (*manomayakāya*) are referred here to the *rūpadhātu* and not to the *ārūpyadhātu* (see also, Vallée Poussin II (1923), p.209, nn.2f.) -- and also in some respects (by some schools) to properties attributed to beings in the *ārūpyadhātu* (e.g. *manomayakāya* see *Y* p.20, l.14: sa punar antarābhava ārūpyopapattiyātanam sthāpayitvā draṣṭavyaḥ |, cf. Vallée Poussin II (1923), pp.209f., n.3 mentioned above).

¹ Pradhan (1975): gatyantarālatvāt.

⁸⁶ See *AbhKBh* III, p.490, l.21 - p.491, l.17 = Pradhan (1975), p.151, l.15 - p.152, l.6 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.117-119) on these and other *bhava*-s.

⁸⁷ See *AbhKBh* III, p.405, ll.1-4 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, ll.6-9 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.32f.):

ko 'yam antarābhavo nāma? mṛtyūpapattibhavayor antarā bhavatiha yaḥ | maraṇabhavasyopapattibhavasya cāntarā ya ātmabhāvo 'bhinīrvartate deśāntaropapattisamprāptaye, so 'ntarābhava ity ucyate; gatyor antarālatvāt |

What is this *antarābhava*? That which is here between the phase of dying and the phase of birth. That which exists as an entity² between the phase of dying and the phase of birth, bound to reach birth in another situation, is called "*antarābhava*" for being intermediate between two *gati*-s.

Cf. *Y* p.20, ll.9f.:

tasya punaḥ paryāyā[7] antarābhava ity ucyate maraṇabhavotpattibhavayor antarāle prādurbhāvāt |

¹ *kā*-: gatyantara- Pradhan (1975): gatyantarālatvāt.

² Later, in *AbhKBh* III, p.422, l.16 - p.423, l.3 = Pradhan (1975), p.124, ll.19-24 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.45f.), explained as *pañcopādānaskhandu*-s in this phase.

⁸⁶ See esp. *AbhKBh* III, p.389, ll.14-17 and p.390, l.1 = Pradhan (1975), p.114, ll.10-12 and ll.13f. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.12)

⁸⁷ See *AbhKBh* III, p.405, ll.5-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, ll.9-14 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.33):

katham ayaṃ jātaś ca nāma na copapanno bhavati? gamyadeśānupetatvān nopapanno 'utarābhavaḥ ||10|| upapattigato¹ hi "upapannaḥ" ity ucyate; pader gatyarthatvāt | na cāyaṃ gamyadeśam upagato 'ntarābhavaḥ, tasmān nopapannaḥ ||10|| kaḥ punar asau deśo gantavyaḥ? yatrākṣiptasya vipākasyābhivyaktiḥ, samāptiś ca |

Spūṭārthāvyākhyā: pader gatyarthatvād iti | "pada gatau" iti paṭhyate, tenopapannaśabdasyopagatārtham darśayati |

How can he be designated as having come into existence (*jāta*) and yet not as being born (*upapanna*)? Not having arrived at the situation where one should go to, the (being pertaining to the) *antarābhava* is not born (*upapanna*). For, (in) what is called "*upapanna*" (by connotation) is (implied): having arrived at a birth; as the connotation of *gati*² is (also valid) for *pad*- and *i*- (constructions: *pader*?)³. And this (being pertaining to the) *antarābhava* has not arrived at the situation where it should go to, therefore he is not born (*upapanna*). What again is the situation where he has to go to? (He should go) where the manifestation and completion of the effected⁴ fruition is.

¹ Pradhan (1975), p.120, n.2, MS. upapagato.

- regarding the mode of "birth" (*yoni*)⁸⁸ it is characterised as "spontaneously generated" (*upapāduka*)⁸⁹.

The properties of an *antarābhava* almost seamlessly merge with those of a being experiencing it, only rarely the term "*antarābhavika*"⁹⁰ or "*antarābhavastha*"⁹¹ is used when (explicitly) referring to an "intermediate being"⁹². The intermediate being is characterised as follows:

- the intermediate being is designated as of mental origin⁹³;

¹ Also: arriving at <gam-.

² As in (*upa*)-*pannal* (*upa*)-*patti* <(*upa*)-*pad*- ~ (*upa*)-*ita* < (*upa*)-*i*; *vyākhyā*: "*pader gatyarthatvāt*" is read as "*pada gatau*" (a reference to Pāṇini, Pāṇiniyadhātupāṭha X.360?), by this it shows the connotation of "arrived" (*upagata*) for the word "born" (*upapanna*).

⁴ See Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.33, n.2 (terminology following *AbhK IV* 95).

^{**} See *AbhKBh III*, p.401, l.5 - p.402, l.2 (and following) = Pradhan (1975), p.118, l.23 - p.119, l.2 (and following) (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.26-28 (and following)) where *Vasubandhu* discusses the four modes of "birth" (*catasras yonayas*), to wit, *aṇḍajā yoni*, *jarāyujā yoni*, *saṃsvedajā yoni*, *upapādukā yoni*. Regarding the self-produced arising of a being pertaining to the intermediate state, the translation of *yoni* as place or mode of birth would in this context, as was mentioned in the previous point, not be considered completely accurate, since the arising of this being is not the same as the birth in a *gati*. But the term *yoni* does not allow a more neutral term that equally fits its anatomical implications and does justice to the character of the first three modes of birth as well.

⁹⁰ *AbhKBh III*, p.401, l.14-p.402, l.2 = Pradhan (1975), p.118, l.29 - p.119, l.2 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.27f.):

upapādukā yoniḥ katamā? ye sattvā avikalā ahīnendriyāḥ sarvāṅgapratyaṅgopetāḥ sakṛd upajāyante | ata eva upapādane' sādhu-kāritvād "upapādukāḥ" ity ucyante, tad yathā -- deva-nārakāntarābhavikādayaḥ ||8||.

Spūṭārthavyākhyā: sakṛd upajāyante, na kalālādyanupūrvyā aṇḍajādivat |

Which is the spontaneously generated mode of birth? Those beings that appear at once², complete with unimpaired faculties of sense, endowed with all members and sub-members, are, for this very reason, for being able to be generated spontaneously, called "spontaneously generated" – namely: gods, denizens of hell, beings pertaining to the intermediate state, etc.

Cf. *Y p.21*, l.6:

sa tatropapādukaḥ paripūṃśaḍāyatanaś ca jāyate ||

¹ *kā*:- upapādane. Pradhan (1975), upapādane, p.119, n.1, Y. upapādane.

² Cf. *vyākhyā*: without any graded embryonic intermediate stages (freely rendered).

⁹⁰ See e.g. *AbhKBh III*, p.401, l.14 - p.402, l.2 = Pradhan (1975), p.118, l.29 - p.119, l.2 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.27f.) cited above and *AbhKBh III*, p.423, ll.4-9 = Pradhan(1975), p.124, l.24 - p.125, l.2 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.46) cited hereafter.

⁹¹ See e.g. *AbhKBh VI*, p.959, ll.8-12. (V.220) = Pradhan (1975), p.362, ll.6-9.

⁹² See the definition of an *antarābhava* in p.405, ll.1-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, ll.6-14 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.32f.) cited above, where the *antarābhava* is explicitly stated to be an entity (*ātmabhāvo*), and see the ambiguous diction in *AbhKBh III*, p.419, ll.10 - p.420, l.2 = Pradhan (1975), p.123, ll.20-23 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.42) and *AbhKBh III*, p.424, ll.10-18 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.12-20 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.47f.) cited hereafter.

⁹³ See *AbhKBh III*, p.494, ll.10-16. = Pradhan (1975), p.153, ll.11-16 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.122.):

manomayaḥ sambhavaīṣi gandharvaś cāntarābhavaḥ ||40|| nirvṛttaśca antarābhavo hy ebhir abhidhānair ukto bhagavatā -I. sa eva manonirjātatvāt manomaya uktaḥ; śukraśoṇitādikam kiñcid

- he bears resemblance to the form of the being of the phase (after birth and) before death, (the five *skandha*-s in) the period in between birth and death⁹⁴;⁹⁵

bāhyam anupādāya bhāvāt | 2. sambhavaṣaṇaśīlatvāt sambhavaṣi | 3. gandharvaṇāt gandharvaḥ | 4. upapattyabhi'mukhatvād abhinirvṛtīḥ | "avyābādham ātmabhāvam abhinirvartya savyābādhe loke upapadyate" itī sūtrapadāt |

Of mental origin ... 1. It is just called "of mental origin" because it originated by thinking ...

Cf. Y p.20, ll.10f.:

manomaya ity ucyate tannīśṛītya manasa upapattyāyatanagamanatayā | śarīragatyā ca punar nālambana[Tib. l2a.1]gatyā |

Cf. also Y p.20, ll.4-8:

abhinirvṛtīr apy ucyate upapatter ābhimukhyena nirvartanatayā ||

AS p.43, l.1 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

sa ca manomayo gandharva ity api |

¹ Pradhan (1975), p.153, n.3, MS. upapattyā-.

² Pradhan (1975), p.153, n.4, MS. drops -bā-.

⁹⁴ See *AbhKBh* III, p.422, ll.16 - p.423, l.3 = Pradhan (1975), p.124, ll.19-24 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.45).

⁹⁵ See *AbhKBh* III, p.419, ll.10 - p.420, l.2 (and following) = Pradhan (1975), p.123, ll.20-23 (and following) (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.42 (and following)):

atha kām gatīm gamiṣyataḥ kimākrīr antarābhavo 'bhinivartate'?
ekākṣepād asav aiṣyatpūrvakālākṛtiḥ | yenaiva karmaṇā gatiḥ ākṣipyate tenaivāntarābhavas tat-
prāptaye | ato yām gatīm gantā bhavati, tasyām gatau ya āgamiṣyat pūrvakālabhavas
tasyaivāyākṛtīr bhavati | ...

Spūṭārthavyākhyā: "aiṣyatpūrvakālabhāvākṛtiḥ" itī | ā eṣyad aiṣyat, aiṣyataḥ pūrvakāla-
bhavasyevākṛtīr asyeti aiṣyatpūrvakālākṛtiḥ | kasmāt? *ekākṣepāt* | yasmād aiṣyantī gatiḥ tatprāpakāś
cāntarābhavas tenaivaikena karmaṇā ākṣipyate |

In what shape then does an *antarābhava* exist for one about to come to a certain *gati*? For being of one cast² that shape of the oncoming³ phase (after birth and) before death. By exactly that *karma* by which a *gati* is cast, by the same the *antarābhava* for reaching it (is cast). Therefore, to which *gati* he will go, as (the shape of) the phase (after birth and) before death pertaining to that *gati* is for the one who will go there, his shape will be precisely as for that (phase (after birth and) before death). ...

And Y p.19, ll.3-8 (cf. *Yogācaryābhūmīśāstra* Taishō (30) 1579 (1), p.282a, ll.17-19 = Y p.19, ll.3-5 referred to by Bareau in Hōbōgirin, p.561b, ll.48ff., Bareau presents a summary: "L'Être intermédiaire de ceux qui ont commis des Actes Mauvais est comme l'apparence d'un moulon noir ou comme une nuit obscure, et L'Être intermédiaire de ceux qui ont commis des Actes Bon est comme l'éclat d'un vêtement blanc ou comme une nuit claire");

sa punar antarābhavaḥ sakalendriyaḥ | duṣkṛtakarmakāriṇāṃ punar antarābhavas tad yathā
kṛṣṇasya kutapasya⁴ nirbhāso⁵ [2] 'ndhakāratamisṛyā vā rātryāḥ | suṣkṛtakāriṇāṃ punas tad
yathāvadātasya⁶ vastrasya nirbhāsaḥ⁷ saṃyotsnāyā vā rātryāḥ | sa ca⁸ viśuddhasya divyasya cakṣuṣo
gocaribhavati |⁹ tasmīn samaye sa pūrvaka ātmabhāvābhilāṣo na punaḥ [3] samudācarati vijñānasyn
pratiśiddhatvāt |¹⁰ viśayaaprapañcābhilāṣas tu samudācarati | yatra cānenopapattavyaṃ tadākṛtīr
evāntarābhavo jāyate |

- the size of this being is like that of a five to six year-old child, having the appearance of a youthful *bodhisattva* endowed with all marks⁹⁶;
- he is visible for other beings of his class and by the pure divine eye⁹⁷;

See also AS p.43, l.3 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

yatra copapadyate tadākṛtir ...

On the two colours see also: *BoBh* p.390, l.20 - p.391, l.4;

dvābhyām ākārābhyām tamaḥ-parāyaṇānām ayam evaṃ-rūpo manomayo 'ntarā-bhavo nirvartate. tad-yathā kṛṣṇasya kutapasya nirbhāsah andhakāra-tamisrāyā vā rātryāḥ. tasmād durvaṇṇā ity ucyamte. ye punar dvābhyām ākārābhyām jyotiṣparāyaṇāḥ. teṣām ayam evaṃ-rūpo manomayo 'ntarā-bhavo nirvartate. tad-yathā jyotsnāyā rātryā Vārāṇaseyakasya vā sampannasya vastrasya. tasmāt su-varṇā ity ucyamte. tatra ye durvaṇṇāḥ. te hīnāḥ. ye suvaṇṇāḥ. te praṇītāḥ. ye hīnāḥ. te durgati-gāmināḥ. ye praṇītāḥ. te sugati-gāmināḥ.

AS p.42, ll.21-23 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

tatrāśubhakāriṇāntarābhavo 'bhinirvartate | tadyathā kṛṣṇasya kutapasya nirbhāso 'ndhakāra-misrāyā vā rātryāḥ || a(?)śubhakāriṇas tadyathā śuklasya parasya nirbhāsajyotsnāyā vā rātryāḥ ||

And also, *Mahā-Ratnakūṭa*, Taishō (9) 310 (41), p.328a, ll.13ff. referred to by Bareau in *Hōbōgirin*, Vol.5, p.561a, ll.19ff., Bareau presents a summary: "En ce qui concerne l'aspect, les Êtres intermédiaires sont de deux sortes: ceux dont l'aspect est laid. Ceux des Enfers sont laids comme du bois brûlé, ceux des Animaux sont comme de la fumée, ceux des Trépassés (*Gaki, preta) comme de l'eau, ceux des Hommes et des Dieux sont couleur d'or. Dans le Plan Matériel, il y en a dont l'aspect est d'un blanc brillant. Dans le Plan Immatériel, il n'y a pas d'Êtres intermédiaires car il n'y a pas de forme ...".

¹ Emend: abhinirvartate.

² *Vyākhyā*: because the *gati* they are coming to and the *antarābhava* leading towards it is cast by this one and the same *karma*.

³ See *vyākhyā*.

⁴ It is a sort of blanket (made of the hair of the mountain goat). - M.M. Williams' Skt. Eng. Dictionary. For this word Tib. has *phyar ba* which may mean here a fling according to the Tib. Eng. Dictionary of S. C. Das. This is however doubtful. Comparing the meaning of the word *snam* below, for Skt. *vastra*, "cloth" it appears that *kutapa* means here *kumbalu* "blanket", as Tib. *snam* is used in this sense. e.g. *snam dkar po* is *śukla kumbala* "white blanket".

⁵ Tib. *snam ba*; MS *nirhrāṣah*. It is also below.

⁶ Tib. *dkar po*; MS *apavādasasya*.

⁷ Tib. *snam bu dkar po*. Generally *snam bu* is a "woollen cloth".

⁸ Tib. adds *-ait*. (śin tu).

⁹ Tib. adds *vijñānāvasthānāt* (mam par śes pa'i mī gnas pa'i phyir).

¹⁰ Tib. omits *vijñānasya* - *ivāt*.

⁹⁶ See *AbhKBh* III, p.420, ll.9f. = Pradhan(1975), p.123, l.28 - p.124, l.2 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.43f.):

pramāṇam tu yathā pañcaśaḍvarṣasya dāraḥ, sa tu paṭvīndriyo bhavati |
bodhisattvasya punar yathā sampūrṇayūṇaḥ, śaḥkṣaṇānuvyaṇjanaś ca |

(His) stature, then, is as of a five to six year-old child; though he is of keen senses.

For a *bodhisattva* moreover, like being in full youth and having all marks and secondary marks.

See also *AbhKBh* III, p.422, ll.13-15 = Pradhan(1975), p.124, ll.16-18 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.45).

⁹⁷ See *AbhKBh* III, p.423, ll.4-9 = Pradhan(1975), p.124, l.24 - p.125, l.2 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.46):

sa cāyam antarābhavaḥ:

sa jñātiśuddhadvāṣṭidṛṣyaḥ samānajaṭīyair evāntarābhavair | dṛṣyate | yeṣāṃ ca divyaṃ cakṣuḥ
suviśuddham abhijñāmayam ta evaṃ paśyanti | upapatticakṣuṣā tu na dṛṣyate; atyartham² acchatvāt

l devāntarābhavikāḥ³ sarvān paśyati l manuṣyapretatiryagnārakāntarābhavikāḥ pūrvam pūrvam⁴ apāśyety apare l

Spūṭārthāvyūkhyā: "suviśuddham" iti l ekādaśadivyaśakṣurapakṣālarjitam l te punar apakṣālā vicikitsāmanasikāro kāyadauṣṭhulyam styānamiddham auddhatyam abhyārābhya vīryam audvilyam chambhītatvaṃ nānātvasaṃjñā abhijalpāḥ abhidhyāyitatvaṃ jñeyeṣu yathāsūtram l abhijñāmayam iti l abhijñāsvabhāvabhāvanāmāyām ityarthāḥ l upapattipratīlambhikamapi devādīnāṃ divyam iṣyate, na tu suviśuddham l

devāntarābhavikamīti vistarāḥ l apara āhuḥ l na samānājātyaivāntarābhavo dṛśyate, kiṃ tarhi? devāntarābhavikāḥ sarvān devāntarābhavikādīn paśyati l manuṣyapretatiryagnārakāntarābhavikāḥ pūrvam pūrvam apāśya l katham? manuṣyāntarābhaviko devāntarābhavikam pūrvam apāśya manuṣyapretatiryagnārakāntarābhavikān paśyati, pretāntarābhaviko devamanuṣyāntarābhavikau pūrvāv upāśya pretatiryagnārakāntarābhavikān paśyati, evaṃ yāvan nārakāntarābhaviko devāntarābhavikādīn pūrvān apāśya nārakāntarābhavikān eva paśyati l gaṭīnām uttarottaranīkṛṣṭatvād itī l

Furthermore, regarding the (one pertaining to an) intermediate state:

He is visible for (those belonging to) the same class (and for those possessing) the pure divine eye, only by those who belong to the same class, the beings pertaining to an intermediate state are seen. Also those for whom the divine eye is completely pure, composed of clear (= supernatural) knowledge, will see (him) thus, but (he) will not be seen by (those possessing) the (divine) eye by birth, because (the former) is exceedingly pure. Others (hold that) a being pertaining to an *antarābhava* for the gods sees all; the being pertaining to an *antarābhava* of humans, *preta*-s, animals or denizens of hell sees those that relative to him are below all the ones preceding (i.e. above him).

Cf. Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.46, n.3, *Vibhāṣā* 70, 13 records three opinions, the ones voiced here, but also one according to which all intermediate beings can see one another: "Les êtres intermédiaires se voient-ils les uns les autres? - Qui - Qui voit qui? - Il y a diverses opinions. D'après certains, l'être intermédiaire infernal voit seulement les êtres intermédiaires infernaux ... l'être intermédiaire divin voit seulement les êtres intermédiaires divins. D'après d'autres maîtres, l'être intermédiaire animal voit les êtres intermédiaires infernaux et animaux ... D'après d'autres maîtres, les cinq classes voient les cinq classes."

Cf. Y.p.19, l.10 - p.20, l.1:

sa tena cakṣuṣāmasabhāgān āntarābhavikān sattvān paśyati teṣāṃ copapattisthānam ātmanas ca l

AS p.43, ll.2f. (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

tatrasthaś ca karmopacinonī⁵ sabbhāgāṃś ca sattvān paśyati l

And Tibetan: PTT.112.253.2.4:

de na gnas pa yañ la⁶ sogs pa'ol l skal ba⁷ rñiam pa'i sems can rñams kyañ rathoñ ñol

Cf. ASBh p.54, ll.21-24.:

tatrasthaś ca karmopacinolī, pūrvāvedhavaśena kuśalādicetanāsamudācārāt l [Ch.722b] sa-bhāgāṃś ca sattvān paśyati yañ saha pūrvam tatkuśalam akuśalam vā caritaṃ bhavati taiḥ saha vartamānaṃ ātmānaṃ svapna iva saṃjñānīti l

And Tibetan: PTT.113.104.1.1f.:

de na gnas pa yañ las sogs go žes pa na śhoṇ gyi 'phen pa'i dbañ gis dge ba la sogs pa'i sems pa kun tu 'byuñ ba'i phyir rol l skal pa mñam ba'i⁸ sems can mams kyañ mthoñ žes bya ba ni gañ dag dañ lhan cig tu śhoṇ dge ba'aml mī dge ba kun tu spyad par gyur pa de dag dañ bdag lhan cig tu 'dug par rmi lam tsam gyi tshod du šes sol

³ kā: -bhavikair. Pradhan (1975): bhavikair; p.124, n.8, MS. -bhavair.

- he is endowed with the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*⁹⁸;
- his organs of sense are complete⁹⁹;

² *kā*: jātyartham. Pradhan (1975): jātyartham. In the Tibetan translation of *ASBh*, PTT.115.171.5.2, we find: *jin tu dan ba'i phyir* supporting the reading: *atyartham acchatvāt*.

³ Pradhan (1975): bhavikair; p.125, n.1, Y. (N) -bhavikam.

⁴ Pradhan (1975) reads *pūrvam* only once.

⁵ *bhā-nāsti*. Emend: *karmopacinoti*, as in *ASBh* p.54, l.21. N.B. the commentary explains *upacinoti* in a more passive meaning than at least the *Saṃskṛt* version of the *AS* seems to suggest! Considering this discrepancy in interpretation and the weak evidence of the verb *upaci-* in both *Saṃskṛt* and Tibetan we might assume the diction in this passage was at some time corrupted.

⁶ Emend: *las*, as in the translation of the *ASBh*, PTT.113.104.1.1. A copyist or woodblock-cutter apparently mistook *las sogs* (*sog(s)*) (*bsags bsag sogs/bsag*): "to accumulate *karma*" for *la sogs pa*: "etcetera", thus depriving the passage of its meaning.

⁷ Emend: *pa*.

⁸ Emend: *pa'i*.

⁹⁸ See *AbhKBh* III, p.423, l.10 - p.424, l.3 = Pradhan(1975), p.125, ll.3-6 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.46):

karmarddhivegavān rddhiḥ = *ā'kāśagamanam*, *karmaṇā rddhiḥ karmarddhīḥ*, *tasyā vegāḥ*² *karmarddhivegāḥ* = *śīghratā*, so 'syāstīti *karmarddhivegavān* | *yenāsau nū*³ *śākyo buddhair api pratibandhum*⁴; *karmaṇo* 'sya *baliyatvāt* |

He is endowed with the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*, "supernatural power" (here means) going through the air, supernatural power through *karma*, the swiftness thereof is "the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*", (thus it means) quickness, (quickness): "that belongs to him" (therefore) "endowed with the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*". For which reason he cannot be restrained even by *Buddha-s*, because his *karma* is stronger.

Cf. *Yp*.19, ll.9f.:

*tasya ca divyacakṣur iva*¹ *cakṣur na vyāhanyate yāvad upapatyāyatanāt* |⁶ *gatir api na vihanyate yathā rddhimato yāvadupapatyāyatanād eva* |

¹ Pradhan(1975), p.125, n.2, MS. drops -rā- in *rddhirākāśagamanam*.

² Pradhan(1975), p.125, n.3, MS. *veśaḥ*.

³ Pradhan(1975), p.125, n.4, Y. na seems to be necessary. MS. *yenāsau śākyo*.

⁴ Pradhan(1975), p.125, n.5, MS. -bandhum.

⁵ Tib. *lha'i nūg lla bur*. MS *divyasyu cakṣuṣaḥ*.

⁶ After *-yātuna-* Tib. reads an *ādāna-* (gnas ma blaṅs). So below.

And *ASp*.43, ll.3f. (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

*rddhimān iva cāśu*¹⁰⁰ *gāmī upapatyāyatane pratihanyate* |

¹⁰⁰ See *AbhKBh* III, p.424, ll.4f. = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.7f. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.46f.):

sakalākṣaḥ samagrapañcendriyaḥ |

His organs of sense are complete (meaning), having all five faculties of sense.

Cf. *Yp*.18, l.3:

sa punar antarābhavaḥ sakalendriyaḥ |

And *Yp*.21, ll.6ff.:

sa tatropapādukaḥ paripūrṇaṣṭāḍyatanas ca jāyate | ...

- he knows no obstruction¹⁰⁰;
- he cannot be turned away¹⁰¹;
- he eats odour¹⁰²;

¹⁰⁰ See *AbhKBh* III, p.424, II.6-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, II.9-12 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.47):

apratighavān pratighātaḥ = *pratighaḥ*, so 'syāstūti *pratighavān*, na *pratighavān apratighavān* |
vajrādibhir apy anivāryatvāt | tathā hi pradīptāyaḥpiṇḍabhede tanmadhyasambhūtaḥ krimir
upalabdhaḥ śrūyate |

He knows no obstruction. Resistance (means) "Obstruction", (obstruction) that belongs to him: "having obstruction", not having obstruction: "he knows no obstruction". Because he cannot be warded off even by diamonds and the like. For thus it is said that on the splitting of a reddened lump of iron worms are found that have developed in its centre.

AS p.43, 1.3 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

... *apratihatagatiś ca* |

¹⁰¹ See *AbhKBh* III, p.424, II.10-13 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, II.12-15 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.47):

yasyāṃ ca gatau sa utpatsyamānas tasyāḥ sarvathā anivartyaḥ, na hi kadācin manuṣyāntarābhavo
'ntardhāya devāntarābhavo bhavati, anyo vā | niyatam anena yām eva gatim adhikṛtyābhinirvṛttas
tasyām evopapattavyam, nānyasyām iti |

In whatever *gati* he is about to be reborn, from that he cannot be turned away at all, for never does he cease to be (a being pertaining to) a human intermediate state and become (a being pertaining to) a divine intermediate state or other. Inevitably that very *gati* with regard to which he arose, in precisely that one he has to be reborn, not in another.

According to Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.47, n.2, *Vibhāṣā* 69, 14, records the opinions of *dārṣṭāntika-s* which disagree with this tenet: "D'après les Dārṣṭāntikas, il est faux que l'être intermédiaire ne puisse changer ni quant au Dhātu, ni quant à la destinée, ni quant au lieu de la nouvelle existence. Tous les actes y compris les cinq ānāntaryas peuvent être <changés> ... L'être intermédiaire qui va renaître dans le quatrième dhyāna peut produire la vue fausse; il est alors détruit et immédiatement remplacé par un être intermédiaire infernal ..."

¹⁰² See *AbhKBh* III, p.424, II.14-18 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, II.16-20 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.47f.):

kiṃ punar antarābhavo 'pi kāmāvacaraḥ kavaḍḍikāram āhāraṃ bhuñkte? om ity āha | na tv
audārikam, kiṃ tarhi? *sa gandhabhuk* II14 | *ata eva "gandharvaḥ" ity ucyate*, dhātūnām *anekārtha-*
tvāt | *hrasvatvaṃ śakandhukarkandhuvat* | *alpeśākhyas tu durgandhāhāraḥ, maheśākhyas su-*
gandhāhāraḥ |

Spūṣārthavyākhyā: "*ata eva gandharva*" iti | *yato gandhagato gandharvaḥ* | *gandham arvati*
bhākṣayati gandharva ityarthah | *dhātūnām anekārthatvāt* | *ayam arvatir(?) na kevalam gatyarthe*
varittate, kiṃ tarhi? bhojanārthe 'piti | *gatyarthaparigrahe 'py adoṣaḥ* | *gandham arvati gacchati*
bhoktum iti gandharva iti | *hrasvatvaṃ śakandhukarkandhuvat* iti | *kṛdanta iti pararūpanipātanāt*
śakandhu(ka)karkandhur iti *pararūpasiddhir yathā tatthehapi gandharva* iti |

But does (a being pertaining to) an intermediate state also, (like a being pertaining to) the realm of desire, eat food that is taken into the mouth? It is said to be so, but not gross (food). What then? **He eats odour.** Because the roots allow for more than one meaning², therefore (he can be called): "*Gandharva*". Shortness (of vowel) like "*śakandhu*" and "*karkandhu*". Now, those with insignificant ancestry have bad odours for food, those with important ancestry have pleasant odours for food.

Cf. *AbhKBh* III, p.494, 1.13 = Pradhan (1975), p.153, 1.15 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.122.):

- his life-span appears to be a matter of dispute¹⁰³.

We shall return to these properties of an intermediate state or being when discussing the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* at the end of this paragraph.

Before turning to *tantric Buddhist* material I should like to discuss a very short passage from the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* which was already introduced above. The *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*, according to Li-kouang a *Mūlasārvāsti-*

3. gandharvañāt gandharvaḥ |

Cf. Y p.20, l.10:

gandharva ity ucyate gandhena gamanād gandhena puṣṭitāś ca |

¹ A reference to Pāṇini, 6.1.94: *gandharva* follows, like *śakandhu* and *karkandhu*, rule 6.1.94 which, as an exception to 6.1.88, does not result in *vrddhi*.

² See *vyākhyā*: goes towards odour (means): goes to eat (odour, hence) '*gandharva*'.

¹⁰³ *Vasubandhu* presents the four opinions that are recorded concerning this question in *Mahāvibhāṣā* 72, 3 in reverse order, the opinion he presents last is the one that appears first in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, de la Vallée Poussin suggests (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.49, n.4, cf. p.61, n.1, subn.a) that this is the opinion held by the *Vaiśāṅgya*-s. In extract bc four views are, in *Vasubandhu*'s order, see: *AbhKBh* III, p.425, l.1 - p.426, l.14 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.48-50):

1. No fixed rule (*Bhadanta*).
2. Seven days (*Bhadanta*); if in that time he has not met with completeness (of causes necessary for rebirth)¹, after having died they(?) arise again in that same place.
3. Seven weeks²;
according to de la Vallée Poussin (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.49, n.3), this might be the view of a *Śamudatta*?, he also refers to the view of the heretics (i.e. *pubbaseliyāna* c' eva sammitiyānaḥ ca, of both *pūrvaśaila*-s and *saṃmitiya*-s) in *Kv-a* p.105, ll.1-8: ... sattuhaṃ vā atirekasattuhaṃ vā tiṣṭhatīti ..., ... either seven days or exceeding seven days ...;
See Y p.20, ll.4-8 (cf. *Yogācāryābhūmiśāstra*, Taishō (30) 1579 (1), p.282a, l.27 - b, l.2 = Y p.20, ll.4-6 referred to in from Bareau in Höbögirin. Vol.5, p.562a, ll.6-10; Bareau presents a summary: "Lorsqu'on bout de sept jours l'Être-intermédiaire n'a pas rencontré les conditions nécessaires à sa renaissance, il meurt et renaît pour une nouvelle durée de sept jours).

sa punar antarbhavaḥ³ saptaḥaṃ tiṣṭhaty asaty upapattipratyayaḥ⁴ soti punaḥ pratyayaḥ⁵ 'niyamaḥ' | alābhe punaścutvā⁶ punaḥ saptaḥaṃ tiṣṭhaty yāvāt sapta saptaḥaṃ tiṣṭhaty upapattipratyayaṃ alabhamānaḥ | tata ūrdhva[6]m avāśyam upapattipratyayaṃ labhate | tasya ca saptaḥacyutasya kadācit tatraiva abhinirvṛtṛ bhavati | kadācid anyatra viśabhāgo | sacet karmāntarakriyā parivarteta tadantarābhavabijam parivartayati ||

AS p.43, ll.2f. (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

param saptaḥaṃ tiṣṭhaty antareṇa cyavate |

¹ *AbhKBh* III, p.426, l.4 reads: *saptāhūni*, while Pradhan (1975), p.126, l.10 reads: *sapta saptaḥaṃ*.

² Add: *pratyaya* as in ll. 11f.: *sūmagriḥ pratyayāḥ*.

³ MS has here *paramam* "at most" of which nothing is in Tib..

⁴ Tib. ñes pa mel do.

⁵ Tib. lit. *deham viśmṛya* (lus brjed nas). Emend: *cyutvā*.

⁶ Not in Tib., MS reads it twice.

4. If he desires rebirth, it will last only a short while (*Vaiśāṅgya*-s).

vādin text¹⁰⁴, is known in a Chinese translation¹⁰⁵ from 542-43 revised by *Gautama Prajñāruci* (*K'iu-t'an Pan'jo-lieou-tche*¹⁰⁶) from Benares in Ye, capital of Wei (534-550) with the help of two Chinese redactors *T'an-lin*¹⁰⁷ and *Seng-fang*¹⁰⁸. And in a Tibetan translation¹⁰⁹ from the end of the eleventh or first quarter of the twelfth century AD, which according to Li-kouang was probably (like the Chinese version) made from a *Saṃskṛt* original (and was not translated from the Chinese)¹¹⁰, the translators are *Sāntyākara Gupta*, *Abhayākara Gupta*, *Sākyarakṣita*, *Vidyākaraśānti*, *Subhūticandra*, *Ajitacandra*, and *dGe loṅ Tshul khriṃs rgyal mshan*. Two abridged versions in Chinese and Tibetan are also extant, for an extensive discussion of source-material I should like to refer to the very thorough study of Li-kouang (1949), pp.147-161 and pp.262-271.

In the Chinese version of this *sūtra*¹¹¹ we find a most remarkable and colourful account of experiences at and beyond death, quite unlike the descriptions and systematisations regarding the subject that we met until now.

Since I am not a sinologist I shall not try to improve on Arthur Waley's translation¹¹²:

205. *The Intermediate State*

When a human being dies and is going to be reincarnated as a human being . . . when the time of his death is approaching he sees these signs: he sees a great rocky mountain lowering above him like a shadow. He thinks to himself, "The mountain might fall down on top of me", and he makes a gesture with his hand as though to ward off this mountain. His brothers and kinsmen and neighbours see him do this; but to them it seems that he is simply pushing out his hand into space. Presently the mountain seems to be made of white cloth and he clammers up this cloth. Then it seems to be made of red cloth. Finally, as the time of his death approaches he sees a bright light, and being unaccustomed to it at the time of his death he is perplexed and confused. He sees all sorts of things such as are seen in dreams, because his mind is confused. He sees his (future) father and mother making love, and seeing them a thought crosses his mind, a perversity (*viparyāsa*) arises in him. If he is going to be reborn as a man he sees himself making love with his mother and being hindered by his father; or if he is going to be reborn as a woman, he sees himself making love with his father and being hindered by his mother. It is at that moment that the Intermediate Existence is destroyed and life and consciousness arise and causality begins once more to work. It is like the imprint made by a die; the die is then destroyed but the pattern has been imprinted.

The latter part, from the confused mind¹¹³ onward, is to be found in several of the *abhidharma*-texts mentioned below¹¹⁴, but the first part is different and, to the best of my knowledge, largely unprecedented. Written evidence of many of the experiences recorded here reappear one way or the other in later ages. The most remarkable point is undoubtedly the reference to the clear light of death, but also the feeling/ fear of

¹⁰⁴ See e.g. Li-kouang (1949), pp.96-98.

¹⁰⁵ *Taishō* XVII.200c.

¹⁰⁶ Transcription as in Li-kouang.

¹⁰⁷ Ditto.

¹⁰⁸ Ditto.

¹⁰⁹ PTT 37.119.2.8 - 38.24.1.7.

¹¹⁰ See Li-kouang (1949), pp.19f., esp. p.150, n.1.

¹¹¹ This passage is lacking in the Tibetan version. Even though the Chinese translation is five to six centuries older than the Tibetan one, this part still might have been inserted sometime before the sixth century rather than having been omitted at some point in a version translated into Tibetan, regarding the unusual nature of the passage discussed this last option does not seem too unlikely. The Chinese text is presented in Appendix II(b).

¹¹² In Conze (1954), p.283, cf. German translation (1957), p.233f.

¹¹³ See II.22, characters 12ff. (xin⁽¹⁾ Mathews (1931), 2735 mi⁽²⁾ Mathews (1931), 4450).

¹¹⁴ See e.g. *AbhKBh* III, p.426, 1.15 - p.429, 1.17 = Pradhan (1975), p.126, 1.19 - p.127, 1.27 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.50-54), cf. AS p.43, 11.5f. (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68) and Y p.21, 11.11-15.

being crushed by a mountain¹¹⁵ and the occurrence of the colours white and red¹¹⁶ have, sometimes altered or distorted, echoes in later literature.

Now, to complete this survey, I should like to introduce some *tantric* material. Firstly, attention is due to the important and influential *bar do*-speculations and -practices of some (*bKa' rgyud pa*-)*siddha*-s¹¹⁷.

The most informative and hence noteworthy passages regarding a concept of *bar do* as such are provided by descriptions in the "hundred thousand songs" of *rJe btsun Mi la ras pa* (1040/53-1123/35) as recorded in the *rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum*¹¹⁸. From a doctrinal point of view this text is greatly indebted to *Mi la ras pa*'s teacher *Mar pa* (1012-1097) and to *Mar pa*'s teacher *Nā ro pa* (1016-1100). Especially the six *dharma*-s or teachings (*chos drug*) of *Nā ro pa*, *Nā ro pa'i chos drug* -- to wit: *gtum mo* ((mystic) heat), *sgyu lus* (illusory body), *rmi lam* (dream), 'od gsal (clear light (of death)), *bar do*, and 'pho ba (transferring of perception (at death)) -- are of paramount importance for *Mi la ras pa*'s expositions on *bar do*-s. The *chos drug* of *Nā ro pa* are again derived from the *chos drug* he received from his teacher *Tilo pa* (988-1069). These in turn, were, according to *Tilo pa*'s *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa* (*Chos drug gi man nāg*, PTT.82.34.4.2-35.1.1), developed by other *siddha*-s, to wit, the *yoga* of

¹¹⁵ See the *gZi sku gsum gyi rnam bžag rab gsal sgron me žes bya ba bžugs so* (XL.0696), by the eighteenth-century *dGe lugs pa*-scholar *dByaṅs can dga' ba'i blo gros* or *A kya yoṅs 'dzin*, folio 2v, ll.4f.:

sa'i khamś thim pa'i phyi rtags su lus śas cher skam žin yan lag mams lhod lhod par 'gro ba dan
lus sa 'og tu byuñ ba lta bu fiams 'byuñ l

Regarding the external sign of the dissolving of the physical earth-constituent (of the body): the body is very emaciated, the limbs become limp and a feeling arises as if the body is sinking beneath the earth.

see trsl. Lati Rinbochay and Hopkins, J. (1979), p.35.

Or as a more recent presentation by Sogyal Rinpoche ((1992), p.251) has it:

(The next four phases follow the dissolution of the elements:
Earth)

Our body begins to lose all its strength. We are drained of any energy. We cannot get up, stay upright, or hold anything. We cannot longer support our head. We feel as though we are falling, sinking underground, or being crushed by a great weight. Some traditional texts say that it is as if a huge mountain were being pressed down on us, and we were being squashed by it. We feel heavy and uncomfortable in any position. We may ask to be pulled up, to have our pillows made higher, or for the bed-covers to be taken off. ...

Unfortunately Sogyal Rinpoche does not specify the traditional texts referred to here.

¹¹⁶ See the phases in dying called *snan ba dkar lam pa'i sems* and *mched pa dmar lam pa'i sems* (see XL.0696, folios 4r, ll.1ff.), the path of "the mind of white appearance" and the path of "the mind of red increase" (terms from trsl. by Lati Rinbochay and Hopkins, J. (1979), pp.38ff.). The "white appearance" corresponds to the perception of a mountain that looks as if it were white that is subsequently (ji¹¹⁹, Mathews (1931), 495) ascended; the "red increase" corresponds to the perception of a mountain that looks red. It is not unthinkable that the original meaning in the *Saṃskṛt* manuscript(s) that served as a basis for this Chinese translation has incurred some damage in the process of its rephrasing into Chinese.

¹¹⁷ See Appendix I, Literature concerning *Chos drug* and *Bar do*-s.

¹¹⁸ Four block-print- and manuscript-editions were used: Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XLI.255.2740/H57, and XLI.255.2740/H567; the text is translated by G.C.C. Chang as "The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa" (two volumes, see Chang (1977)).

sgyu lus and 'od *gsal* by Nāgārjuna,
gtum mo by Carya pa,
rmi lam by Lava pa,
bar do and 'pho ba by Pukasiddhi¹¹⁹.

This is not the right occasion to discuss the development and descent of these *chos drug* any further. Nor would it be very revealing at this point to present the rather detailed and technical descriptions of, and prescriptions for, these *yoga-s*¹²⁰. We will, however, briefly touch upon the content of some of these *yoga-s* in the third and last paragraph of this chapter.

It is important to note here that the *chos drug* are mainly forms of *rtsa rluṅ-yoga*¹²¹, though some external visualisation can be involved (e.g. in the *sgyu lus*-teaching). The last four *yoga-s* listed are moreover based on the two first-mentioned ones, which are more or less basic practices amongst them, namely on *gtum mo-yoga* and, except for the 'od *gsal*-teachings, on *sgyu lus-yoga*. As such, the 'od *gsal*- and *bar do*-teachings do not even as much as mention *ṣi khro*-deities. Generally speaking, these *yoga*-texts seem to be designed for practical instruction of a *yogin* rather than being dedicated to theoretical speculation concerning 'od *gsal* or *bar do*; except for a conspicuous absence of a *ṣi khro-maṇḍala* they are not very revealing as to the way a *bar do* was then conceptualised.

Slightly more explicit information can be found in a biography of *Nā ro pa* the *mKhas grub kun gyi gtsug brgyan* | *paṅ chen nā ro pa'i rnam thar* | *no mtshar rmad byun*¹²². Three *bar do-s* are mentioned here in the first of five instructions on *bar do-s*¹²³, to wit:

skye ṣi bar do;
rmi lam bar do;
srid pa'i bar do.

¹¹⁹ Reference from Guenther (1986), p.XV; see also (Khenpo) Kñchog Gyaltsen (1990), pp.43-45 (the Tibetan text by "Dorje Dze Öd" is presently not available to me, therefore I shall summarise the translation by Kñchog Gyaltsen):

Nāgārjuna: 'od *gsal* and *sgyu lus* was taught to *Ti lo pa* by Nāgārjuna from the Father-tantra of the *Guhyasamāja*;

Lava pa: 'od *gsal* was taught to *Ti lo pa* by *Roṭ pa'i rdo rje*, a disciple of *Lava pa* and *bar do* was mediated by *Heruka*;

Saraha: according to some 'pho ba and *bar do* were taught by the *Dākinī sKāla ba bzān mo* from the tantra, *sDom pa rgya mtsho*; *gtum mo* was taught by *Carya pa* from the *Cakrasaṃvara-tantra*.

So *Carya pa*, *Nāgārjuna*, *Lava pa*, and *sKāla ba bzān mo* are reckoned to be the four *bla ma-s* of *Ti lo pa's* lineage.

A Tibetan translation of the *Ṣaḍdharmaopadeśa* (PTT-edition) is presented in Appendix II(c).

¹²⁰ For a presentation of *Nā ro pa's* six teachings in the English language see Chang (1963). This presentation of *bKra ṣis rnam rgyal's* version of the teachings is not based on a Tibetan original but on a Chinese translation, which is not specified any further, it was translated by Mang Kung. Some references to Tibetan versions of the *Nā ro'i chos drug* are to be found in Appendix I, Literature concerning *Chos drug* and *Bar do-s*.

¹²¹ Forms of *Buddhist yoga* focusing on vital breath or energy (*rluṅ*, *Skt. prāṇa*) moving through subtle channels (*rtsa*, *Skt. nāḍī*), causing, for instance, droplets of vital essence (*thig le*, *Skt. bindu*) to rise and or descend through various centres (*khro lo*, *Skt. cakra*) along the central *nāḍī*, the *avadhūti* (Tib. *rtsa dbu ma*).

¹²² The relevant part is edited in Guenther (1963), pp.264f. (folios 33v - 34v) and translated (rather freely) on pp.82-86, see esp. pp.83-85.

¹²³ See Guenther (1963), p.264, ll.15-29, for the ease of reference the relevant part is reproduced in Appendix II. Cf. Back (1979), pp.92-95.

These three physical (*lus ldan*) forms of *bar do* are specified further:

- the *skye śi bar do* is characterised as the body of flesh and blood, (resulting from) maturation (*Skt. vipāka*) (of *karma*);
- rmi lam bar do* as subtle body of indivisible vital breath (*rluñ, Skt. prāṇa*) and mental processes (*Skt. citta*);
- and *srid pa'i bar do* is designated as a mental body: the *gandharva*.

The mentioning of a *chos ñid kyi bar do* in the description (1.17) and the following elaboration (1.25) of the third instruction does not seem to refer to a separate *bar do* state named "*chos ñid bar do*", but rather seems to refer to a non-physical but impure form of *bar do* still having properties (*dri ma can chos can*) that is to be realised (fourth instruction) as the "son-clear light" (*'od gsal bu*) and is specified by the preceding attribute *chos ñid kyi*. The attribute *chos ñid kyi* functions similar to *chos ñid mtshan ma'i* in the formation of the term *chos ñid mtshan ma'i bar do* in the preceding, the second instruction (1.16), where in relation to the "mother-clear light" (*'od gsal ma = chos ñid*), a non-physical (and non-tainted) form of *bar do* (without properties) is specified as having the characteristic of *dharmatā* (*chos ñid mtshan ma'i*), this term, too, should not be taken as a reference to a separate "*chos ñid mtshan ma'i bar do*".

For some more elaborate descriptions we shall now turn towards material recorded with regard to "Tibet's great yogi", *Mi la ras pa*. The designation "*bar do*" seems to be used rather freely in the *mGur 'bum*: it is applied to all kinds of "in-between"-situations that could be characterised as important turning points (read: opportunities to enlightenment or to reinforced delusion) either in practice or in "ordinary life-experience", phases of transition in general, and shifts in consciousness. Key-words are change and insecurity, and quintessence shining through shifting side-scenes. The term *bar do* is not so much a reference to a fixed set of states or phases of transition anymore, but has become a metaphor for the very transitory and uncertain nature inherent in these states and could, in principle, be applied to any such situation. Examples of this more free use of the term *bar do* are:

- yeñs snañ stoñ gñis kyi bar do*; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 104r, 1.5
- bde stoñ gñis kyi bar do*; see folio 104r, 1.6
- chags can chags bral bar do*; see folio 104v, 1.1
- skyon can (l^{dañ}) skyon med bar do*; see folio 104v, 1.2
- (*da res*) '*kh^{or} 'das (gñis kyi) bar do*; see folios 104v, 1.3; 165r, 1.6
- tshig don gñis kyi bar do*; see folio 104v, 1.4
- ((*lam 'jigs pa can gyi*) *bar do*; see folio 162v, 1.6)
- rañ bñin lam gyi bar do*; see folio 165v, 1.1
- lta ba'i bar do*; see folio 237r, 1.6
- sgom pa'i bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.1
- spyod pa'i bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.2
- lam bskyed rdzogs kyi bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.3
- gnad kyi bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.4
- sku gsum gyi bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.4
- 'bras bu'i bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.5

Apart from this, the term *bar do* is also used to refer to more concrete, traditionally conceived states or phases of transition in life, similar to the use of *bhava* in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*¹²⁴. Examples of these more traditionally conceived *bar do*-s are:

(*snañ ba*) *skye śi'i*) *bar do*; see Kern 28.536.3, folios 73r, 1.1; 165r, 1.6; 237r, 1.2 (cf. *pūrvakālabhava*)

rmi lam (*gyil gñid kyi*) *bar do*; see folios 73r, 1.1; 165v, 1.1; 237r, 1.3; 237v, 1.2

(*snañ min/min/mun*)¹²⁵ *srid pa'i*) *bar do*; see folios 73r, 1.1; 165r, 1.5; 165v, 1.2: *tha ma* ...; 237r, 1.3 (cf. *antarābhava*)

also called: *lam srid pa bar ma do* (see folio 267v, 1.5) and *snañ mun 'od kyi bar do* (see folio 267v, 1.6)

skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do; see folio 165v, 1.2 (cf. *upapattibhava*)

The three *bhava*-s pertaining to death and a possible rebirth referred to in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, to wit, *mṛtyu-* or *marāṇabhava*, *antarābhava*, and *upapattibhava*, are probably intended in Kern 28.536.3, folio 163r, 1.3, where the five *ḍākinī*-s mention three '*phrañ*', short for *bar do*'i '*phrañ*'¹²⁶ -- a standing expression in *bar do*-literature -- regarding (a safe passage through) which they desire to be instructed by *Mi la ras pa*. The preceding (Kern 28.536.3, folio 163r, 1.2f.) characterisations of these fearsome abysmal paths and the requested guiding instructions pertaining to it as:

the clear light (of) death, (i.e.) *chos (kyi) sku* (*Skt. dharmakāya*): instructions regarding *dharmakāya*;

the pure illusory body pertaining to *bar do*: instructions regarding *loñs* (*spyod rdzogs pa'i sku* (*Skt. sambhogakāya*);

the realm of rebirth, rebirth (in) which is in one's own power (read: *rañ dbañ la yod*): instructions regarding *sprul (pa'i) sku* (*Skt. nirmāṇakāya*);

clearly indicate a *bar do* of death, which, however, is not specified any further (in Kern 28.536.3, folio 167v, 1.3 a '*chi ba'i srid pa* is mentioned¹²⁷); a *srid pa'i bar do*, which is mentioned rather frequently throughout the cited passages and which term seems to be used for this one out of three or six phases as well as a general reference to "the" phase between death and rebirth¹²⁸; and a *bar do* of passing to a place of

¹²⁴ Note that the Tibetan translation of *antarābhava*: *bar ma do'i srid pa* probably provided the term *bar ma do* or *bar do* as an equivalent for what in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* was referred to as *bhava*, whereas in the translation of *antarābhava*, *bhava* was translated by *srid pa* and not by *bar ma do*. This clearly indicates that in Tibetan traditions all *bhava*-s were styled after one *bhava* that according to their perception represented the central or original one, the blueprint of the concept of an intermediate state, the *antarābhava*, *bar ma do'i srid pa*, or in short *bar ma do*, hence, *bar ma do* or *bar do* and not *srid pa*.

¹²⁵ Cf. Kern 28.536.3, folio 267v, 1.6: *snañ mun 'od kyi bar do*, as another name for *lam srid pa bar ma do*, both referring to *srid pa'i bar do*.

¹²⁶ The word '*phrañ*' or '*phrañ*' (also: *lam 'phrañ*) refers to a footpath along a narrow ledge on the side of a precipitous wall of rock, *bar do*'i '*phrañ*', then, denotes the road of the abyss of the *bar do*, or simply the abyss of *bar do* (Jäschke (1881), p.359a).

¹²⁷ Note that here the translation *srid pa* is preferred for *bhava*.

¹²⁸ Chang (1977), Vol.I, p.355, n.20, erroneously equates this phase with the *chos ñid kyi bar do* of the *Kar glin ñi khro*-cycles, this *bar do* bears all the marks of the *srid pa'i bar do* mentioned there and the *antarābhava* of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the *chos ñid bar do* and the *ñi khro*-deities in particular are not referred to in the *mGur 'bum*.

rebirth (*skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do*) mentioned Kern 28.536.3, folio 165v, l.2¹²⁹. Obviously these three *bar do*-s imply much more than the three equivalent *bhava*-s mentioned above. The essentialising equation, for instance, of each of these three *bar do*-s with one aspect of the *trikāya*, so important in later *bar do*-teachings, is clearly a later development. This equation is even more explicit in Kern 28.536.3, folio 162r, ll.2-5:

... the clear light of death is the *dharmakāya*¹³⁰, the pure illusory body pertaining to *bar do* is the *sambhogakāya*, the various realms of rebirth are the *nirmāṇakāya*; the three bodies, not different and of one taste, are the (*chos dbyinis*) *no bo ŋid kyi sku* (*svabhāvikakāya*) ...

The prose passage in Kern 28.536.3, folios 167v, l.5 - 168r, l.1, is somewhat more outspoken on the '*chi ba'i srid pa* (upon which we shall not dwell here) and this *lam srid pa bar ma do*, (=) *snañ smun 'od kyi bar do* or (=) *srid pa bar do*. The *lam srid pa bar ma do* is characterised as an abysmal road where one has a mental body sprung from previous (*karma*)¹³¹ and where one is persecuted by executioners of *karma*. Furthermore in this *snañ mun 'od kyi bar do* one is in full possession of all senses, is unimpeded, and has a body endowed with light and miraculous powers of *karma*. According to Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, ll.5f., one will, in this *snañ mun srid pa'i bar do*, experience the suffering of (extreme) heat and cold for seven weeks, whereafter, pursued by *karma*, one will, again, enter into the prison of *saṃsāra*. And according to Kern 28.536.3, folio 165v, ll.2, the *trikāya* will also, finally, become manifest in the *srid pa'i bar do* (after which one should try to obtain access to the (*Buddha*)-fields). These descriptions accord well, as Back (1979, pp.93-95) has already shown, with the descriptions of the *srid pa'i bar do* in *Kar gliñ ži khro*-cycles.

Longer lists of six and eight *bar do*-s are also mentioned¹³², on closer examination these references reveal no consistent scheme and they cannot be equated to one

¹²⁹ Chang (1977), Vol.I, p.356, n.27, erroneously equates this phase with the *srid pa'i bar do* of the *Kar gliñ ži khro*-cycles, this *bar do* rather corresponds to the *upapattibhava* in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

¹³⁰ Cf. Kern 28.536.3, folio 167v, ll.3-5.

¹³¹ Read: *sñon las byuñ*. It is not clear whether this clause should go with the implied object or, as Chang (1977), p.352, takes it, with the persecutors of *karma*, either way the grammatical construction is incorrect. Considering the emphatic manner in which the possession of a mental body in a *antarābhava* and a *srid pa'i bar do* usually is propounded the first solution seems the most probable one.

¹³² Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, l.1 - 165v, l.4:

1. *snañ min/(mññ/mun) srid pa'i bar do*; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, l.5
2. *da res 'khor 'das bar do*; see folio 165r, l.6
3. *snañ ba skye ŋi'i bar do*; see folio 165r, l.6
4. *rañ hñin lam gyi bar do*; see folio 165v, l.1
5. *rmi lam ŋñid kyi bar do*; see folio 165v, l.1
6. *skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do*; see folio 165v, l.2

Kern 28.536.3, folios 236v, l.4 - 237v, l.5:

1. *lta ba'i bar do*; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 237r, l.6
2. *sgom pa'i bar do*; see folio 237v, l.1
3. *spyod pa'i bar do*; see folio 237v, l.2
4. *rmi lam gyi bar do*; see folio 237v, l.2
5. *lam hskyed rdzogs kyi bar do*; see folio 237v, l.3
6. *gnad kyi bar do*; see folio 237v, l.4
7. *sku gsum gyi bar do*; see folio 237v, l.4

another. The list of six *bar do*-s does however, as we can see in the following, show some similarity to the six *bar do*-s that are mentioned in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

Lastly I should like to present some evidence extracted from various *gter ma*-sources on *bar do*-s, to wit from:

the *Ñi ma dan zla ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsañ ba'i rgyud*¹³³, a *rÑiñ ma rDzogs chen*-text which is partly translated and "critically" edited in Orofino (1985)¹³⁴ (together with an interesting "Bon"-*rDzogs chen*-text *rDzogs pa chen po zañ žuñ sñan rgyud las sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* with its commentary, the *rDzogs pa chen po zañ žuñ sñan rgyud las sGron ma'i 'grel pa ñi 'od rgyan*, the first of which seems to be considerably older than the previous text and will be discussed briefly later-on in the third paragraph of this chapter);

the *sÑiñ thig ya bži* (especially the *Ži ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid*¹³⁵, (XXIII.1318.1.h) and the *Chos ñid bar do'i yon tan*¹³⁶ (XXIII.1318.1.l))¹³⁷ collected by *Klön chen pa dri med 'od zer* (1306/8-1363);

the most important evidence is to be found in the *Kar gliñ ži khro*-cycles¹³⁸ (and as far as this study is concerned especially in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*) revealed by the *gter ston Karma gliñ pa* (14th century)¹³⁹;

the *Kun tu bzañ po'i dgoñs pa zañ thal* and the *Ka dag rañ 'byuñ rañ śar*¹⁴⁰ (especially the *Bar do lha'i ño sprod* (XXV.127¹⁴¹))¹⁴² revealed by *gter ston rGod kyi ldem 'phru can* (1337-1408);

8. 'bras bu'i bar do; see folio 237v, 1.5

¹³³ The *Ñi ma dan zla ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsañ ba'i rgyud* is to be found in the *rÑiñ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*-collection of the *Bima sñiñ thig*, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, pp.153-233 (available on IASWR-microfiche, set R-2101, entry 2170 in Tachikawa (1983)), esp. the third and fourth chapters (pp.203, ll.6ff.), the third chapter treats of a 'chi kha'i (*lha ma'i*) *bar do* in the last chapter a *chos ñid bar do* and *srid pa'i bar do* (in the second chapter a *rañ bžin gnas pa'i bar do*, corresponding to the *rañ bžin skye gnas bar do* mentioned in the *Kar gliñ ži khro*, is presented). According to Orofino (1985, p.27, n.20) this text is not extant in the edition of the *rÑiñ ma pa rgyud bcu bdun* prepared by Orgyan Dorji (Sumtra (H.P.) 1975) on the basis of a rare but incomplete manuscript found in a monastery in Spiti.

¹³⁴ The *Ñi ma dan zla ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsañ ba'i rgyud* is translated in Orofino (1985), pp.30-59, and edited on pp.105-126. Orofino's "critical" editions do not seem to be based on comparison of different text-editions but on the expertise of several Tibetan scholars and teachers.

¹³⁵ Edited in Appendix II(c).

¹³⁶ Edited in Appendix II(c).

¹³⁷ See Appendix I.

¹³⁸ See Appendix I.

¹³⁹ According to Namkhai Norbu (Preface to Orofino(1985), p.1) in 1326, he does not present any arguments in support of this date. According to Orofino, p.14, n.4, 1326 is the birth date of *gter ston Karma gliñ pa* (*1326-1386) referring to Dargyay (1977), pp.151f. Dargyay (1977), p.152, however does not state that *Karma gliñ pa* lived from 1326-1386, but indicates that his birth took place somewhere in that specific cycle of sixty years (the sixth sexagesimal cycle).

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix I, for further bibliographical information see also Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on *Bar do*-s, XXIV (text XXIV.42 is of a later date), see also XL.2116-2120.

¹⁴¹ Kept in the Tibetan collection of the "Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin", Hs. Sim. or. JS 3540.

¹⁴² See Appendix I, for further bibliographical information see also Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on *Bar do*-s, XXV.

the 'Ja' *tshon pod drug*¹⁴³ (especially *Ži khro nes don sñiñ po*-related texts)¹⁴⁴, revealed by the *gter ston Las 'phro glin pa* (1585-1656), who is also named *Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon sñiñ po*¹⁴⁵;

and the *mKha' 'gro gsañ ba ye šes kyi rgyud* (especially the *gSañ ba ye šes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dañ pho ba'i man ñag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs*, XXVI.235)¹⁴⁶ connected with the names of the *gter ston gTer bdag glin pa* (1646-1714) and his son *Padma bzad pa'i rdo rje* (1697?-?)¹⁴⁷.

In these texts the treatment of *bar do*-s is already quite elaborate, so much so, that it would be advisable, here and in the following, to concentrate as well as possible on passages specifically concerned with a *chos ñid bar do* and to leave descriptions of a '*chi kha'i bar do*, a *srid pa'i bar do* and other *bar do*-s aside as for now. As far as Buddhist literature is concerned, the first four groups mentioned contain texts featuring the earliest, more or less elaborate descriptions of a *chos ñid bar do* (as we shall see in the third paragraph of this chapter, there are probably earlier references to an equivalent *bar do*, a *ži khro bar do*, and a *bon ñid 'od gsal gyi bar do* in "Bon" and "Bon"-*rDzogs chen*-texts).

As will be shown in the next paragraph, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is the only testimony amongst the Buddhist texts mentioned, which features an actual enumeration and description of a *mañḍala* of peaceful and wrathful deities in a *chos ñid bar do*. The treatment of the *chos ñid bar do* there is moreover the most comprehensive one extant, that is, if we include the description of the *mañḍala*. The *Ñi zla kha sbyor* on the other hand gives, as we shall see, a more in-depth treatment of a *chos ñid bar do* as such. It is difficult to decide at this point which is the older of the two, since both texts appear in collections of not too certain a date. The texts do not present reliable clues as to their first conception, there origin soon becomes shrouded in the mists of legendary names. The dates of the relevant works in the *sñiñ thig ya bzī* by *Klon chen pa dri med 'od zer* equally disappear into the haze of legend as soon as we venture out beyond the life-time of its learned compiler (and, sometimes, author). The

¹⁴³ See Appendix I.

¹⁴⁴ See e.g. the *Yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las Ži khro nes don sñiñ po mñon rtogs* (XLI.MS1460); the *Yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dañ Ži khro nes don sñiñ po'i phyag len chog sgrigs bklaḡs chog tu bkod pa 'ja' tshon dgoñs pa rgyan* (XL.1399); the *Yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dañ de'i cha lag Ži khro nes don sñiñ po'i las byan don gsal khyer bder bsgriḡs pa padma'i dgoñs brgyan* (XL.1079/1083), as indicated in the title extant in the ('Ja' tshon) *dKon mchog spyi 'dus-eycle* of the 'Ja' tshon pod drug (edited by Taklung Tsetrul Pema Wangyal, Darjeeling 1979-82, see also the *rñiñ ma'i rgyud 'bum Vols.IIIff.*). And also the later *Zab chos ži khro nes don sñiñ po'i sgo nas ran (dañ) gzan gyi don mchog ru sgrub pa'i las(lm) rim 'khor ('tshol) ba'i mun gžoms kun bzah thugs rje'i snañ mdzod* (XL.667', XLI.9, private copy¹, XL.1416); also *Ži khro nes don sñiñ po* (XL.652 and 3505) written by *Ñag dbaun kun dga' hstan 'dzin* (1680/81-1728/9) on the basis of the *gter ma-s* revealed by the *gter ston Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon sñiñ po* (1585-1656).

¹ Only in the title-description *dañ* is left out and '*chor ba* is replaced by '*shol ba*.

² Only this BP. distinctly has *lam*.

¹⁴⁵ See Appendix I.

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix I, for further bibliographical information see Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on *Bar do*-s, XXVI.

¹⁴⁷ Compiled from the *Thugs rje chen po bde gšegs kun 'dus*, discovered by *gTer bdag glin pa* in 1680, written down by his son *Padma 'gyur med rgyu mtsho* (1686-1718) in 1713. The *yum*-part of this work was extended by *Padma bzad pa'i rdo rje* into the *mKha' 'gro gsañ ba ye šes kyi rgyud* (see Shuh (1985), p.XXVIII). Both XXVI.149 and XXVI.126 belong to the later revision.

only clues left to us are the nature and development of the doctrines and ideas presented in the texts themselves.

Even if the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* were older than the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, of which Namkhai Norbu¹⁴⁸ is convinced and which Orofino seems to take for granted, it might be wise to consider more complex situations of transmission than a direct borrowing of the tenets of the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* into the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, as is presumed by Namkhai Norbu¹⁴⁹ and Orofino¹⁵⁰.

Judging by doctrinal content, there might very well be evidence of direct or indirect borrowings from the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* in more similar presentations like the later exposition of the *bKa' rgyud 'brug pa-scholar rTse le sna tshogs rañ grol Rin po che* (1608-?) in his *Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam pa gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me lon*¹⁵¹. The descriptions of a *chos ñid bar do* in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, however, are too divergent from those in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* to allow such a strong dependence as suggested by Namkhai Norbu and Orofino. The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* leans heavily on the description of *ñi khro*, the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* in turn concentrates on descriptions of general experiences of luminosity and colour, often in geometrical shapes, and features quite numerous references to specific *rDzogs chen*-practices. In addition to that, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* makes, as far as its theoretical doctrinal content is concerned, a much less developed impression than the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, that is, of course, except for the description of the peaceful and wrathful deities. On the other hand, the enumeration and elaborate descriptions of *ñi khro*, so prominent in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* are conspicuously absent in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, their appearance is referred to as one of the experiences of light and colour, and that is all.

All well considered, I feel inclined to assume more *bar do*-, *chos ñid bar do*- and *ñi khro*-traditions than just one single line into which all textual material should neatly fit in a chronological manner, regardless of the tradition it originated from:

the traditions of the (*bKa' rgyud pa*)-*siddha*-s discussed above seem to represent rather unique and specific strands of *bar do*-teachings focusing on the practice of *rtsa rluñ-yoga*;

the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* seems to represent another quite distinctive strand of teachings and practices focusing on experiences of luminosity, which are by the way rather prominent in "Bon"-*rDzogs chen*-traditions¹⁵², the *Ñi ba bar do*

¹⁴⁸ See Orofino (1985), pp.4f., the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* is said to be taught for the first time by *dGa' rab rdo rje*, who, according to Namkhai Norbu was born three hundred and sixty years after *Buddha's parinirvāṇa* in the Tibetan year of the female wood sheep, on the eighteenth day of the first month in the country of *Uddiyāna*, and who according to legend, indeed, precedes *Padmasambhava*, the supposed author of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, in the line of transmission.

¹⁴⁹ See Orofino (1985), pp.4f., especially the hypothetical derivation of the sub-division of *bar do*-states in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* from the classification used in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*.

¹⁵⁰ See the second paragraph of p.58, n.57 (cf. p.46, translation): "This passage is of major interest because it is the essential nucleus from which are derived the detailed descriptions of the visionary manifestations of the peaceful and terrifying divinities of the *Bar-do thos-grol*."

¹⁵¹ In the *rTse le sna tshogs rañ grol gyi gsun 'bum*, accessible in the IASWR-microfiche-edition, fiche 2352/3 R-2281/2, based on a reprint of a manuscript from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche edited by Sanje Dorje, Vol.II, chapter 3, pp.139-233, Delhi 1974.

¹⁵² See e.g. Karma (1988), pp.203-205, discussing the text (*rDzogs pa chen po ñaṅ ñuñ sñan rgyud las*) '*Khor lo bñi sbrag*, especially the fourth section called *bar do dus kyi 'khor lo*, also extant in the *rDzogs pa chen po ñaṅ ñuñ sñan rgyud kyi gsun phod*, see Chandra (1964), pp.446-465; cf. also the (*rDzogs pa chen po ñaṅ ñuñ sñan rgyud las*) '*Od gsal sems kyi me lon*', Chandra (1964), pp.583-599.

*lam gyi mtshan ñid*¹⁵³ in the (*mKha*' *'gro yañ thig*) of the *sÑiñ thig ya bñi* collected by *Klon chen pa dri med* 'od zer borrows heavily from the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* is frequently mentioned as one of the many sources that are cited in this text, this tradition probably continued into later presentations like the *Bar do spyi'i don* and is still extant in more recent *rDzogs chen*-presentations as e.g. by Sogyal Rinpoche¹⁵⁴;

the *Kar gliñ ži khro*-cycles are very much concerned with *Mahāyoga*-like visualisation-practices, they feature the first elaborate descriptions of *ži khro* in a separate *bar do* in a "*Buddhi*" context -- the most elaborate one being recorded in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*¹⁵⁵ -- and they appear to focus on practices concerning these peaceful and wrathful deities, also in their later compilations; the *gSañ ba ye šes kyi mkha*' *'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dañ pho ba'i man riag gi gsal byed gian gyi lam grogs*, XXVI.235) from the *mKha*' *'gro gsañ ba ye šes kyi rgyud* follows the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* almost verbatim, omitting certain passages and commenting on others;

then there is the late strand of the '*ja*' *tshon ži khro*, a *ži khro*-tradition according to the *gter ston Rig 'dzin 'Ja*' *tshon sñiñ po*, which does not seem to be more than a variant of the *kar gliñ ži khro*, equally focusing on practices concerning *ži khro* but featuring an extended *mañḍala* of one hundred and seven(teen) deities (instead of one hundred(and ten) in the *kar gliñ ži khro*); I will discuss some of this material in the second and third chapters of this thesis;

and lastly there are, as we shall see in the third paragraph of this chapter, early "*Bon*"-*rDzogs chen*-presentations of a *ži khro bar do*, e.g. the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo*, a (diverging) *mañḍala* of *ži khro* is actually described at some length, but this text is, apart from the description of the *mañḍala*, rather poorly equipped on a more theoretical doctrinal level.

I shall return to this question of descent at the end of this chapter, when the contents of some "*Bon*"-texts regarding these subjects have been assessed. We shall now take a brief look at some of the schemes of *bar do*-s used in the above-mentioned texts¹⁵⁶.

The *Ka dag rañ 'byuñ rañ śar*-cycle contains a very interesting and probably relatively ancient text, the *Bar do lha'i no sprod*. The teaching called *Bar do lha'i no sprod* is said to be revealed in the country of Tibet by *Padmasambhava* and put to writing at *Brag dmar*¹⁵⁷ in glorious *bSam yas*; it was requested by King *Khri sron lde'u*

¹⁵³ See XXIII.1318h, pp.133-154.

¹⁵⁴ See Sogyal Rinpoche (1992), pp.274-286.

¹⁵⁵ See amongst many others the *Chos spyod hug chags rañ grol* (*III.5, *IV.2.9, *V.17, *VI.11, *VIII.17, *X.19.6.=187.17, *XII.3, *XIII.662,663(2x=), *XIV.1232,1233,1235,1236), also called *Chos spyod bag chags rañ grol žes bya ha bar do thos grol gyi cha lag(s)* (*I.7, *II.5', *VII.1.11, *VIII.17, *XI.8=XIV.1237, *XIV.1234,1237=XI.8,1238), this text is very frequently met with in *Kar gliñ ži khro*-cycles. The text is translated, I must say rather freely, by Thurman (1994), pp.205-225. For more bibliographical information see Appendix I.

¹ Reading: *lags*.

¹⁵⁶ In the following the references to the different *bar do*-s as they occur in the text will not be given anymore, unless there is a special reason to do so; most *bar do*-s are referred to so often throughout the texts discussed here that precise reference to all loci would be a burden more than anything else.

¹⁵⁷ Name of a rock in or near *Lha sa*, allegedly not to be identified with *dMar po ri* (Jäschke (1881), p.380a)

bīsan at the time when a *gaṇacakra* was prepared in the three-storied pinnacle (of *bSam yas* monastery). The text might well date back to the eighth century or earlier. Here we find, as the title announces, five *bar do*-s listed; a *chos űid bar do* is not yet mentioned here (XXV.127, folio 2r, l.1 - 2v, l.1)¹⁵⁸:

rañ bñin gnas pa'i bar (ma) do;
tiñ ñe 'dzin gyi bar (ma) do;
rmi lam gyi bar do;
skye ři bar do;
srid pa'i bar (ma) do.

In the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, also, five¹⁵⁹ *bar do*-s are mentioned, four of which (all except the second) are actually discussed in the text:

rañ bñin (gnas pa'i) bar do;
*tiñ ñe 'dzin gyi bar do*¹⁶⁰;
'chi kha'i bar do or *'chi ba(ma)'i bar do;*
chos űid (kyi) bar do or *chos űid dag gi bar do;*
srid pa(i) bar do.

In the *sÑiñ thig ya bñi* only four *bar do*-s are mentioned¹⁶¹:

skye(s) nas gnas pa'i bar do or *skye gnas kyi bar do;*
'chi kha(i) bar do or *'chi ka'i bar do;*
chos űid (kyi) bar do, divided into a *ñi ba bar do* and a *khro bo bar do;*
srid pa(i) bar do.

Though there are teachings and practices regarding dreams in the *sÑiñ thig ya bñi*¹⁶², a *rmi lam gyi bar do* is not mentioned.

¹⁵⁸ See text-edition in Appendix II.

¹⁵⁹ Namkhai Norbu presents (Orofino (1985), pp.5f.) a deviating list of five *bar do*-s, which he cites from the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, (no locus citorum). The first five lines of his quotation are indeed to be found in *rÑiñ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, p.186, l.4, the following six lines, however, reading:

"The doctrine of the bar-do is subdivided into five states:
the bar-do of nature,
the bar-do of the state of samadhi,
the bar-do of dream,
the bar-do of birth and death,
the bar-do of existence,

do not appear in my text. Furthermore, I could not find a single reference to a "*bar do of dream*" (*rmi lam bar do*); nor did I find a reference to a "*bar do of birth and death*" (*skye ři bar do?*) and in addition to that the text clearly refers to a *chos űid bar do*, which appears to be lacking in Namkhai Norbu's list. His list is, however, remarkably similar (same names and same order) to the one we found in the *Bar do lha'i no sprod* referred to above!

¹⁶⁰ Only mentioned once (Orofino (1985), p.110, l.13). This *bar do* is not mentioned by Orofino (1985, pp.10f.) in her list.

¹⁶¹ See for instance the *ñi ba bar do lam gyi mñshan űid*, XXIII.1318.1.h (pp.133-154), said to be compiled by the legendary *Padmasambhava* and the short text called *Chos űid bar do'i yon tan*, XXIII.1318.1.l (pp.191-195).

¹⁶² See e.g. the *rMi lam shubs 'jug*, XXIII.1321.1.n (pp.108-116).

And in the important *Kar gliṇ ži khro*-text, the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, six *bar do*-s are listed, see e.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.14, l.18 - p.15, l.1:

raṇ bžin skye gnas bar do;
rmi lam gyi bar do;
tiṇ ṇe 'dzin bsaṃ gtan gyi bar do;
'chi kha'i bar do;
chos ṇid (kyi) bar do, also divided into a *ži ba bar do* and a *khro bo bar do*¹⁶³;
srid pa(i) bar do.

The names of three *bar do*-s pertaining to death¹⁶⁴ and of a *bar do* pertaining to life are mentioned in all texts from the *Ňi zla kha sbyor* onward, except for the set mentioned in the *Bar do lña'i ṇo sprod*, which is remarkably distinct from the other listings and to which we shall return soon hereafter.

The *bar do*-s pertaining to dream (*rmi lam*) and states of meditative absorption (*tiṇ ṇe 'dzin* or in *Skt. samādhi(samāpatti)-s*¹⁶⁵) are not always mentioned, though they do appear fairly early (the *Bar do lña'i ṇo sprod* and the *Nā ro pa'i rnam thar*).

Considering these *bar do*-s and considering the four *bhava*-s described in the *Abhi-dharmakośabhāṣya*, it would not require much effort to jump to the conclusion that *bar do*-s described in relation to birth and death form the oldest core¹⁶⁶ and that the dream- and meditation-*bar do*-s are later accretions. That is to say, categories that for some reason or other were important to the traditions in which these *bar do*-speculations evolved¹⁶⁷, were at times fitted into the *bar do*-scheme that was then current in the tradition involved. It would take far greater effort, indeed, to refrain from any such conclusions here, nevertheless this might still be the most wise position to take at this point.

We shall now take a closer look at one of these lists of *bar do*-s and, starting from there, see if the *bar do*-s that are referred to with similar names in the diverse lists were actually conceived in like manner. For reasons of space we have to content ourselves with the most general characteristics, a more in-depth treatment of the *chos ṇid bar do* and its "Bon"-equivalent will appear in the following two paragraphs.

The set of five *bar do*-s that we find mentioned in the *Bar do lña'i ṇo sprod* is -- as amongst other things the absence of a *chos ṇid bar do* indicates -- most probably of ancient origin, it shows a level of development close to that of the (nonetheless dissimilar) sets mentioned in the *Nā ro pa'i rnam thar* and the *mGur 'bum*. On the first pages of the *Bar do lña'i ṇo sprod* a short characterisation of the five *bar do*-s is presented¹⁶⁸:

¹⁶³ See e.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.43, ll.7-9.

¹⁶⁴ See the typical enumeration following the list of six *bar do*-s in Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.15, ll.2-4.

¹⁶⁵ Or as the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs* has it, *tiṇ ṇe 'dzin bsaṃ gtan*: the stages of meditation (*dhyāna*) regarding these *samādhi(samāpatti)-s*.

¹⁶⁶ As may be sufficiently clear from the presentation of older *Pāli* material above, the term *antarā-bhava* -- which, as the Tibetan (mis)translation indicates, is the actual *bhava* referred to in Tibetan when using the term *bar (ma) do* (<*Skt. antarā*) for *bhava* (and *antarābhava*) -- was primarily used in reference to a state, phase or being in between death and (most) rebirths, all other states being, from the Tibetan point of view, derivations.

¹⁶⁷ Note that these *bar do*-s are to a certain extent related, both pertain to a changed level of consciousness (whatever that may be) and both form part of a *bar do* of life (see e.g. the *rŇiṇ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, pp.170, ll.5ff.); the practice-oriented background of most *bar do*-teachings is clearly visible here.

¹⁶⁸ XXV.127, folio 2r, l.1 - 2v, l.1, see text-edition in Appendix II.

As to the *bar do*-s, there are five (of them):

The "*rañ bžin gnas pa'i bar do*" is said to be in the interval of meeting with the present state of affairs¹⁶⁹ as due to illusion; for this instructions for investigating knowledge are necessary¹⁷⁰.

The "*tiñ ne 'dzin bsam gtan gyi bar do*" is said to be in the interval of contemplating *dharmatā* after having turned from the illusory appearances of *yoga*(-visualisation-practice); for that instructions for detachment regarding the object of contemplation are necessary¹⁷¹ (later-on¹⁷² it is stated that regarding the instructions for contemplation and meditative absorption, clarifying what is not clear, instructions for those who did not understand (the nature of) luminosity are necessary)¹⁷³.

The "*rmi lam gyi bar do*" is said to be in the interval from falling asleep until (the moment of) not (yet) having woken up; for that instructions for becoming purified are necessary (later-on¹⁷⁴ it is stated that instructions for clarifying cognition are necessary, at the end¹⁷⁵ of this section on *rmi lam gyi bar do* also described as instructions for examining cognition)¹⁷⁶.

The "*skye śi bar do*" is said to be in the interval from cognition of (the point of) death until (the moment that) breath has not (yet) ceased; for this instructions for understanding cognition (at death) are necessary¹⁷⁷.

The "*srid pa'i bar do*" is said to be in the interval from the fainting and (consequent) recovering of awareness until (the moment of) not (yet) having entered into a womb; for that instructions for obtaining the result are necessary (later-on¹⁷⁸ it is stated that instructions regarding the bridge of cognition not being broken are necessary, at the end of the section¹⁷⁹ on *srid pa'i bar do* also described as instructions for the meeting of son and mother *dharmatā*)¹⁸⁰.

Thus it is said.

With a few exceptions, these characterisations match closely enough with the general characteristics of their namesakes. Remarkable, however, is the deviating interpretation of the term *skye śi bar do*, which in this text apparently refers to what is elsewhere called '*chi kha'i bar do*'¹⁸¹. This is quite different from the use of this term in the *Nā ro pa'i rnam 'thar* and the *mGur 'bum*, where it refers to what is, again elsewhere, styled as (*rañ bžin*) *skye gnas bar do*¹⁸² or *rañ bžin (gnas pa'i) bar do*¹⁸³ (equivalent to the *pūrvakālabhava* mentioned in *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*). In this connection, I should also like to note a second deviation, in the *mGur 'bum* the term *skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do* is interpreted as a *bar do* pertaining to

¹⁶⁹ Literally substance, thing or being (*chos*).

¹⁷⁰ Elaborated XXV.127, folios 2v, 1.1 - 3v, 1.2.

¹⁷¹ I.e. visualisation.

¹⁷² XXV.127, folios 3v, 1.2f. and 4r, 1.4.

¹⁷³ Elaborated XXV.127, folios 3v, 1.2 - 4r, 1.4.

¹⁷⁴ XXV.127, folio 4r, 1.5.

¹⁷⁵ XXV.127, folio 4r, 1.4.

¹⁷⁶ Elaborated XXV.127, folio 4r, 1.5 - 4v, 1.4.

¹⁷⁷ Elaborated XXV.127, folios 4v, 1.4 - 5v, 1.4.

¹⁷⁸ XXV.127, folio 5v, 1.5.

¹⁷⁹ XXV.127, folio 6r, 1.5.

¹⁸⁰ Elaborated XXV.127, folios 5v, 1.4 - 6r, 1.5.

¹⁸¹ E.g. in the *Ūi zla kha sbyor* and the *Kar gliñ ži khro*.

¹⁸² E.g. *Chos űid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and the *Ži ba bar do lam gyi mtshan űid*.

¹⁸³ E.g. here, in the *Bar do űha'i űo sprod*, and in the *Ūi zla kha sbyor*.

birth, equivalent to the *upapattibhava* mentioned in *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, which usage does not conform with the general conception of the above (*rañ bžin*) *skyes gnas* or *rañ bžin gyi bar do* as an interval between birth and death.

Before drawing any more definite conclusions concerning a relative chronology and possible borrowings in the *bar do*-material presented so far, I should like to discuss a late but -- just because of its relatively late appearance -- significant arrival amongst the *bar do*-s that in *Buddhist* circles was styled *chos ŋid kyi bar do*. This discussion will be initiated in the next paragraph, when examining some of the developments in the concepts of peaceful and wrathful deities that are relevant to these *bar do*-s, and it will be continued into the third and last paragraph of this chapter.

In the preceding paragraph some general developments regarding concepts of one (or more) intermediate state(s) have been examined. In this paragraph I should like to initiate a closer examination of a relatively late stage in these developments, the *chos űid* (or in "Bon"-traditions *Źi khro*) *bar do*. Immediately after death and preceding the old conception of a single state between death and possible rebirth (= *bar ma do srid pa* and later *srid pa'i bar do*) an intermediate state has been conceptualised in which intense experiences of colour and luminosity are said to occur and which, in its most elaborate form, results in a vision of *maṇḍala*-s of peaceful and wrathful deities. As we shall soon see, the descriptions of such visionary experiences, some clearly reminiscent of those generated in *Mahāyoga*-practices, are an important ingredient of many of the presentations of a *chos űid bar do*. An elaborate description or enumeration of peaceful and wrathful deities is not always present, but general references to *maṇḍala*-s of deities do occur in most instances.

It are these peaceful and wrathful deities that we are concerned with here. For the obvious reasons that time for research and space for publication are limited, I cannot trace the developments of these *maṇḍala*-s back to the earliest conceptions in Indian *tantric* traditions of more or less elaborate *maṇḍala*-s in which deities of *śānta* and *krodha* nature appear together; nor is it feasible to track down the several groups of deities mentioned, let alone to study each single deity described, and sketch its lines of transmission and development, (changes in) iconographical characteristics, etc.. This investigation will start at the point where a more or less set concept of a *maṇḍala* of one hundred or more peaceful and wrathful deities seems to have become an established topic in Indian and Tibetan *tantric Buddhist* as well as "Bon"-theory and -practice. Even though this concept was evidently derived from similar *maṇḍala*-s in earlier *Buddhist* and Hindu *tantric* traditions, I should like to leave these origins, however interesting they may seem, aside for the time being. I shall here concentrate on the fact that these *maṇḍala*-s of deities in the course of time seem to have become a more or less fixed entity appearing and reappearing here and there in Tibetan (especially *rűiñ ma* and "Bon"-*rDzogs chen*)-literature, some of which might or might not have been translated from Indian originals, that is to say, some of which might actually be of Indian origin. And of even more interest is the fact that after some rounds in this process of recyculation these *maṇḍala*-s ultimately became strongly associated with an after-death-state, so much so, that in due course the term *Źi khro* in both *Buddhist* and "Bon"-traditions came to refer to the specific *maṇḍala*-s of peaceful and wrathful deities described for the *chos űid* and *Źi khro bar do*-s.

The *maṇḍala* that is being recycled is most probably greatly indebted¹⁸⁴ to an interesting and controversial¹⁸⁵ group of "old" *tantra*-s, usually referred to as the *Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścayamahātantra* (Tib. *gSañ ba'i űiñ po de kho na űid űes pa*, also called: *rGyud gsañ ba űiñ po*; *sGyu 'phrul rtsa rgyud*; *sGyu 'phrul gsañ ba űiñ po*; *gSañ ba űiñ po*; *sűiñ po*; *sűiñ po'i rgyud*; *rTsa rgyud gsañ ba űiñ po*; and *gSañ*

¹⁸⁴ References to this link are to be found in Ehrhard (1990), n.144, (p.124), Ehrhard refers here to two texts by *gŹan phan miha' yas* (1800-?), to wit the *gNad 'dren gyi mshams sbyor űiñ por dril ba* (p.515, ll.6ff.) and the *sKya reñs dan po* (p.404, ll.1-3), according to Ehrhard, *gŹan phan miha' yas* also mentions the *Dri med bśags pa'i rgyud* as a source for the *kar glin Źi khro*; and also, briefly, in a popularising exposé by Thurman (1994, p.86) preceding ditto translations of *Kar glin Źi khro*-texts.

¹⁸⁵ Especially the rites concerning sexual union (*sbyor*) and "deliverance" (*sgrol*) as expounded in chapter 11 of the *gSañ ba'i űiñ po* (XXI.14.p.34, l.5 - p.37, l.5, esp. p.35, ll.5f.) have at times stood under severe criticism (see Karmay (1988), pp.221-223, see further references there, especially Karmay (1979)).

ba sgyu 'phrul, Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, Vol.II, pp.262 & 275)). The cycle is extant in the *rNin ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*-section of the *rNin ma'i rgyud 'bum*¹⁸⁶ and several of the *tantra*-s and commentaries¹⁸⁷ can be found in the *bsTan 'gyur*¹⁸⁸. In a colophon to the root-*tantra*¹⁸⁹ that is presented first in the *rGyud 'bum*, the translators *sNags Jñānakumāra* (eighth century AD) and the *Ācārya* from *rMa, Rin chen mchog* (7??-836)¹⁹⁰, are mentioned. They are said to have translated this text on the basis of authoritative oral instruction by *Vimalamitra* (eighth century AD?)¹⁹¹. From this information we can infer that the root-*tantra* was (indeed) translated during the first translation period (*śha dar*), the Indian original(s)¹⁹² probably reach back sometime before the eighth century AD. In *rNin ma* tradition the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* is considered to be something like a standard authoritative treatise on *Mahāyoga*. Most probably this cycle of texts has also been of general importance for the development *rDzogs chen*-traditions¹⁹³.

In the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* a *maṇḍala* of one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities is already extant. It is quite similar to the one described for the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, with the prominent exception of the central *Buddha* of the *maṇḍala*, which in the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* (and, as we will soon see, in some other texts) is not *Vairocana* (*rNam par snañ mdzad*) but *Vajrasattva-Akṣobhya* (*rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa*)¹⁹⁴, the absence of the *maṇḍala* of *Rig 'dzin*, and a deviating set of powerful *Yoginī*-s. The root-*tantra* does not mention or describe the individual peaceful deities. From this we might deduce that at the time of composition of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*, the *maṇḍala* discussed was already common knowledge or practice among the *tantric* adepts concerned with this *tantra*, but on the other hand, we should also be aware of the fact that this kind of information would usually already have been transmitted at

¹⁸⁶ In the fourteenth volume of the Dilgo Khyentse-edition, for further bibliographical references see Appendix I. A translation is extant, though rather difficult to access, in an unpublished study by G. Dorje, The Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścayamahātāntara and its XIVth Century Tibetan Commentary Phyogs bcu mun sel, three volumes, unpublished Ph.D.-Thesis, University of London 1987. Of possible interest is also the *dPal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i rgyud kyi khog dhub* (XL.4103), an eleventh-century history of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*.

¹⁸⁷ The following commentaries that are extant in the *bsTan 'gyur* were consulted:

rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po dPal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i 'grel pa (XX.PTT.82.248.1.5 - 279.4.7) = comm.1;

dPal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa(i) *rgya cher bsad pa'i 'grel pa* (XX.PTT.83.1.1.3 - 70.3.7) = comm.2;

dPal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i don bsdus 'grel piñdārtha (XX.PTT.83.177.1.1 - 188.4.6) = comm.3;

(*dPal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i rim pa gñis kyi don*) (XX.PTT.83.262.2.4 - 3.6) = comm.4).

¹ The table of contents to the PTT-edition reads *don*.

¹⁸⁸ See also Appendix I.

¹⁸⁹ *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa* (XXI.14.1-61), p.6, ll.6f..

¹⁹⁰ According to Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, Vol.I, p.533) *Vimalamitra* transmitted these teachings to *rMa rin chen mchog* and translated them together with him, while *sNags Jñānakumāra* received the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* from *Padmasambhava*. The second text in this section of the *rGyud 'bum*, a short text called *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po phyi ma* (XXI.14.62-67), p.67, ll.4f., mentions a *Jñānagarbha* (not to confuse a later *Jñānagarbha*, one of *Mur pa*'s teachers, *Ye šes sñiñ po* (= *Jñānagarbha*) or *Thar pa lam ston*, also called *Kukuri pa*) and *Vairocana* as translators.

¹⁹¹ According to Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, Vol.I, p.481) *Vimalamitra* was particularly learned in the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* and wrote numerous commentaries on this cycle (listed *ibid.* p.481).

¹⁹² An interesting short apologetic writing in defense of amongst others -- i.e. the well-known four faults (*skyon bzhi*) attributed to the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*, see Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, Vol.II, p.130) -- an Indian origin of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*, is translated almost in full by Kapstein in Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, Vol.I, pp.114-117) from the Collected Writings of Sog zlog pa (Vol.I, pp.524-526).

¹⁹³ See for instance Ehrhard, pp.8-17, esp. pp.9f..

¹⁹⁴ Later this was considered by some to be one of the four "faults" of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*.

another occasion (i.e. by word of mouth of a *guru*), so that such a brief textual reference would have been sufficient for a *tantric* practitioner anyway. In general the wrathful deities are presented in a more elaborate manner than the peaceful ones (even quite elaborate iconographical descriptions do occasionally appear in one of the commentaries¹⁹⁵).

In chapters fifteen and sixteen of the root-*tantra*¹⁹⁶ several of the fifty-eight wrathful deities are mentioned, some of their familiar *Saṃskṛt* names appear in *mantra-s* and *dhāraṇī-s* cited in chapter sixteen. In the corresponding chapters of the commentaries consulted some more names and explanations appear along with an occasional description, but in general the deities are referred to as a group that in one way or the other should be familiar and of which consequently, *pars pro toto*, only the first (few) members need to be mentioned.

In the fourth chapter¹⁹⁷ the root-*tantra* presents the so-called *maṇḍala* of the "rosary of letters (*yi ge'i 'phren ba*)". With this presentation of letters or syllables the peaceful *maṇḍala* appears to be intended, in fact, all *dharma-s* of the six realms are said to be comprised by this *maṇḍala* of letters¹⁹⁸. For the actual names of the peaceful deities we have to consult the commentaries, in the root-*tantra* there is no reference whatsoever, neither to their usual names nor to their descriptions (attributes of the deities are mentioned in chapter eight). In the seventh chapter¹⁹⁹, however, in which a summary of the *maṇḍala* and some *mantra-s* and *dhāraṇī-s* pertaining to it are presented, a few names (mainly of the female *Bodhisattva*-consorts) do appear. The set of forty-two *āli* and *kāli* (in this case rather *kāli* and *āli*)²⁰⁰ letters and syllables that are discussed in that fourth chapter are arranged in an order that comes close to a *Saṃskṛt* alphabet but also has some features of a Tibetan alphabet as well as some peculiarities not common to either of them²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁵ E.g. XX.PTT.83.58.4.5ff..

¹⁹⁶ See XXI.14.1-61, p.42, 1.2 - p.52, 1.7, see also the commentaries XX.PTT.82.273.2.4 - 274.5.7, XX.PTT.83.56.3.7 - 62.1.6, XX.PTT.83.186.3.7 - 187.1.4.

¹⁹⁷ See XXI.14.1-61, p.13, 1.5 - p.16, 1.7, see also the commentaries XX.PTT.82.256.4.1 - 258.1.4, XX.PTT.83.29.2.8 - 33.5.6, XX.PTT.83.181.2.4 - 182.1.3.

¹⁹⁸ In XX.PTT.83.31.3.7 - 4.5, mention is made of diverging shapes of the deities attributed to the *āli* and *kāli*, different from those described in the commentary above; an example of these deviating shapes is listed there.

¹⁹⁹ See XXI.14.1-61, p.21, 1.5 - p.24, 1.5, see also the commentaries XX.PTT.82.260.5.8 - 262.1.8, XX.PTT.83.38.2.4 - 39.2.2, XX.PTT.83.183.1.3 - 4.1.

²⁰⁰ According to Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, p.292) the term *ālikāli* is employed as a name for *shyor* and *sgrol*, rites concerning sexual union and "deliverance".

²⁰¹ See Snellgrove (1987), p.459.

mgo, *tig*, and *śad*) are explained further by equating them to all kinds of metaphysical and psycho-physical categories; we shall return to these equations in chapter two and three of this thesis.

In the following three tables I shall present as much of the one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities as I can gather from the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* and compare them to the corresponding deities that are extant in later presentations in a *Kar gliñ ži khro*-text, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*²⁰⁵, and a *Na rag don sprug(s)*-text²⁰⁶, the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus* (third column²⁰⁷). In the tables the deities will be listed under the names that appear in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (first two columns). They are moreover arranged according to the order of their appearance in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*²⁰⁸, the corresponding names gathered from the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*²⁰⁹ are adjusted to this order. In the first table the *bijamantra*-s used in the *Kar gliñ 'Ja' tshon ži khro* (*bīja* I²¹⁰) and those used in the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* (*bīja* II) are also compared. Except for the several *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*-editions the spelling of the names and categories is not corrected, the often faulty transliterations of *Saṃskṛt* names are presented as they appear.

The *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* discusses the peaceful deities in accordance with the arrangement of the seed-syllables in the above table, the original order of the deities can thus easily be reconstructed from the *bijamantra*-s (II) in the sixth column of the first table. The wrathful deities are, if they are rearranged, numbered, starting anew for each group. The group of twenty-eight animal-headed *Yogini*-s appears twice in the root-*tantra* (chapter fifteen) with a slightly diverging composition (commentary 2 follows the second *maṇḍala*); the column "*gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*" is therefore split into two sub-columns.

The female deities are usually listed en group after their male counterparts, the couples have been reconstructed from the order of appearance of the groups in commentary 2 of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* and the coupling present in the *kar gliñ ži khro-maṇḍala*.

While most differences between the *maṇḍala*-s speak for themselves, a special word is due to the divergent arrangements of the *Bodhisattva*-s and their consorts. In the first table these deities are listed in the order of their appearance in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, that is to say, with the small modifications mentioned above, which are largely sacrifices to clarity in the arrangement of the table. In commentary 2 of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* these deities are listed in an arrangement which differs from the order of appearance in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*; in the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* they appear in a yet different arrangement. These differences are mainly due to the fact that both in commentary 2 of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* and in the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* the deities are listed in larger groups of four and eight deities, consorts following the group(s) of *Bodhisattva*-s, while in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* they are listed in

²⁰⁵ Apart from the extension with seven deities mentioned below, the *maṇḍala* described in the *Ži khro ñes don sñiñ po* is practically the same as the one described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

²⁰⁶ XLI.336b(=653),650,653(=336b), the text is discussed in more detail later-on in this paragraph.

²⁰⁷ This column bears the heading (*Ži khro*) *sgyu 'phrul*.

²⁰⁸ With exception of the *Bodhisattva*-s, which are listed separately here, but actually appear in two pairs of two (*Bodhisattva*-s together with their consorts) in combination with each of the last four *Tathāgata*-s and their consorts. In the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* the names of each pair of *Bodhisattva*-s is mentioned before the corresponding pair of consorts and this whole group of four is — as can be gathered from the above — mentioned after the consort of the *Tathāgata* it is associated with.

²⁰⁹ I.e. the root-*tantra* and commentaries 1 and 2.

²¹⁰ These *bijamantra*-s are extracted by Lauf (1975, pp.117-158) from various sources.

groups of two. But apart from this there are some actual divergences in order too. These can be seen in the fourth table.

Remarkable is that in the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* the order in which the *Bodhisattva*-s are mentioned does not agree with the arrangement of their consorts, at least, not if we hoped for the same couples that the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* features. Commentary 2 of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* cannot be checked in this respect since I arranged the *Bodhisattva*-s according to the names of the consorts, therewith assuming that the listing of the groups of four would be parallel. Even the faculties (*dbañ po*, *Skt. indriya*) and corresponding perceptions (*rnam ses*, *Skt. vijñāna*) that are associated with these deities do not match for commentary 2 of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* and the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* (the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* does not discuss these²¹¹); some deities have different associations, even if we would rearrange the male *Bodhisattva*-s of commentary 2 of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*, according to the diverging arrangement of the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul*. In short, the arrangements of the *Bodhisattva*-s and their consorts are really different in commentary 2 of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*, the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul*, and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

²¹¹ The eight *vijñāna*-s associated with the eight *Bodhisattva*-s of the 'ja' tshon *Ži khro* are summarised in Lauf, 1975, pp.132-136, esp. pp.134f. (this summary is based on the late presentation in the *Ži khro nes don sñiñ po*). As Lauf indicates (pp.135f.), other classifications can be met with elsewhere.

Peaceful Deities (*Zi ba'i Lha tshogs*)

	<i>Samṣkṛt</i> name	Tibetan name	<i>sGyu 'phrul</i>	<i>bija</i> I	<i>gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po</i>	<i>bija</i> II
A	Ādibuddha and consort	<i>Dan po saṅs rgyas</i>				
1	Ādibuddhasamantabhadra	<i>Dan po saṅs rgyas kun tu bzaṅ po</i>	1		<i>dPal kun tu bzaṅ po</i>	<i>kṣa</i>
2	<i>Samantabhadrī</i>	<i>Kun tu bzaṅ mo</i>	2		<i>dPal kun tu bzaṅ mo</i>	
B	Five <i>Tathāgata</i> -s and consorts	<i>rGyal ba'i rigs lña</i> <i>bDe gsegs yum lña</i>				
3	<i>Vairocana</i>	<i>rNam par snaṅ mdzad</i>	3	<i>om</i>	<i>Mi bskyod pa</i>	<i>ta</i>
4	<i>Ākāśadhātvīśvarī</i>	<i>Nam mkha'i dbyiṅs phyug ma</i>	4*	<i>laṅ</i>	<i>rDo rje dbyiṅs kyi dbaṅ phyug ma</i>	<i>ta</i>
5	<i>Vajrasatva-Akṣobhya</i>	<i>rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa</i>	5	<i>hrīḥ</i>	<i>rNam par snaṅ mdzad</i> (comm.2)	<i>tha</i>
6	<i>Locanā</i>	<i>Saṅs rgyas spyen ma</i>	6	<i>muṃ</i>	<i>Saṅs rgyas spyen ma</i> (comm.2)	<i>tha</i>
7	<i>Ratnasambhava</i>	<i>Rin chen 'byuṅ ldan</i>	7	<i>traṅ</i>	<i>Rin chen 'byuṅ ldan</i> (comm.2)	<i>da</i>
8	<i>Māmākī</i>	transliterated	8	<i>maṃ</i>	transliterated (comm.2)	<i>da</i>
9	<i>Amiṭābha</i>	<i>sNan ba miha' yas</i>	9	<i>hūṃ</i>	<i>sNan ba miha' yas</i> (comm.2)	<i>dha</i>
10	<i>Pāṇḍarā</i>	<i>Gos dkar mo</i>	10	<i>paṃ</i>	<i>Na bza' dkar mo</i> (comm.2)	<i>dha</i>
11	<i>Amoghasiddhi</i>	<i>Don yod grub pa</i>	11	<i>āḥ</i>	<i>Don yod par grub pa</i> (comm.2)	<i>na</i>
12	<i>Samayaṭārā</i>	<i>Dam tshig grol ma</i>	12	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>Dam tshig sgrol ma</i> (comm.2)	<i>na</i>

Sanskṛt name	Tibetan name	sGyu 'phrul	bija I	gSañ ba'i sñiñ po	bija II
C	Eight Mahābodhisattva-s and consorts	Byañ chub sems dpa' chen po brgyad Byañ chub sems ma brgyad			
13	Kṣitigarbha	Sa yi sñiñ po	13 ^b	ksih	ka
14	(Vajra)lāsyā	transliterated (rDo rje sgeg mo)	21	hūñ	isa
15	Maitreya	Byams pa	18	meñ	pha
16	(Vajra)puspā	translit. (rDo rje me tog ma)	26	hūñ	wa
17	Samantabhadra	Kun tu bzari po	19	hūñ	kha
18	(Vajra)mālā	translit. (rDo rje 'phreñ ba ma)	22	tram	isha
19	Ākaśagarbha	Nam mkha'i sñiñ po	14	triñ	pa
20	(Vajra)dhūpā	translit. (rDo rje bdug spos ma)	25	dza	ya
21	Avalokiteśvara	sPyan ras gzigs	15	hriñ	ga
22	(Vajra)gītā	translit. (rDo rje sgra dbyaṅs ma)	23	hriñ	dza
23	Mañjuśrī	'Jam dpal dbyaṅs	20	mum	ba
24	(Vajra)ālōkā	translit. (rDo rje mar me ma)	27	ban	ra
25	Nīvaraṇaviṣkambhin	sGrib pa rnam par sel ba	17	thiñ	bha
26	(Vajra)gandhā	translit. (rDo rje dri chab ma)	28	ho	la
27	Vajrapāṇi	Phyag na rdo rje	16	dziñ	gha
28	(Vajra)ñrīyā	translit. (Gar bsgyur ma)	24	a	dzha

<i>Samskṛta</i> name	Tibetan name	<i>Źi khro sgyu 'phrul</i>	<i>bīja</i> I	<i>gSañ ba'i sñiñ po</i>	<i>bīja</i> II
D Four Gatekeepers and consorts	<i>sGo ba bz̃i</i> <i>sGo ma bz̃i</i>				
29 <i>Vijaya</i>	<i>Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba</i>	<i>Khro bo chen po stobs chen po</i>	<i>hūm</i>	<i>Khro ba śes rab thar byed</i> (comm.2)	<i>ña</i>
30 <i>Vajrāṅkuṣī</i>	<i>(rDo rje) lcags skyu ma</i>	translit.+ <i>rDo rje lcags skyu ma</i>	<i>dzam</i>	<i>rDo rje skyob ma</i> (comm.2)	<i>śa</i>
31 <i>Yamāntaka</i>	<i>(Khro bo) gñin rje gśed po</i>	<i>Khro bo chen po gñin rje gśed po</i>	<i>hūm</i>	<i>Khro bo gñin rje gśed</i> (comm.2)	<i>ña</i>
32 <i>Vajrapāśī</i>	<i>(rDo rje) žags ma</i>	translit.+ <i>rDo rje žags pa ma</i>	<i>hūm</i>	<i>rDo rje žags ma</i> (comm.2)	<i>ma^k</i>
33 <i>Hayagrīva</i>	<i>(Khro bo) rita mgrin rgyal po</i>	<i>Khro bo chen po rita mgrin</i>	<i>hūm</i>	<i>Khro bo rita mgrin</i> (comm.2)	<i>ma</i>
34 <i>Vajrasaṅkalā</i>	<i>(rDo rje) lcags sgrog ma</i>	translit.+ <i>rDo rje lcags sgrog ma</i>	<i>ban</i>	<i>rDo rje lcags sgrog ma</i> (comm.2)	<i>sa</i>
35 <i>Amṛtakundalin</i>	<i>(Khro bo) bdud rtsi 'khyil ba</i>	<i>Khro bo chen-po bdud rtsi 'khyil pa</i>	<i>hūm</i>	<i>Khro bo bdud rtsi 'khyil ba</i> (comm.2)	<i>o</i>
36 <i>Vajraghañā</i>	<i>(rDo rje) dril bu ma</i>	translit.+ <i>rDo rje dril bu ma</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>rDo rje dril bu ma</i> (comm.2)	<i>ha</i>
E Six Buddha-s of the <i>bhavacakra</i>	<i>sPrul pa'i thub pa drug</i>				
37 <i>(Indra) Śakra</i>	<i>brGya byin</i>	<i>lha'i thub pa</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>lha'i thub pa</i> (comm.2)	<i>i</i>
38 <i>(Vemacitra)</i>	<i>Thags bzam ris</i>	<i>lha ma yin gyi thub pa</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>lha ma yin (gyi thub pa)</i> (comm.2)	<i>i</i>
39 <i>Śākyamuni</i>	<i>Śākya seṅ ge</i>	<i>mi'i thub pa</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>mi'i thub pa</i> (comm.2)	<i>u</i>
40 <i>(Sīṃha)</i>	<i>Seṅ ge rab britan</i>	<i>byol son gi thub pa</i>	<i>pad</i>	<i>byol son (gi thub pa)</i> (comm.2)	<i>ū</i>
41 <i>(Jvālāmukhī)</i>	<i>Kha 'bar ma</i>	<i>yi dags kyi thub pa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yi dags (kyi thub pa)</i> (comm.2)	<i>e</i>
42 <i>Dharmarāja</i>	<i>Chos kyi rgyal po</i>	<i>dmayal ba'i thub pa</i>	<i>hūm</i>	<i>dmayal ba'i thub pa</i> (comm.2)	<i>ai</i>

Neutral, neither Peaceful nor Wrathful Deities

	<i>Samskṛt</i> name	Tibetan name	Ži khro sgyu 'phrul	gSañ ba'i sñiñ po
	Five <i>Viśvādhara-s</i> <i>Rig 'dzin lña</i> and consorts			
1		<i>Padma gar gyi dbaṅ phyug</i>	not listed	absent
2		consort	not listed	absent
3		<i>Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin</i>	referred to elsewhere	absent
4		consort	not listed	absent
5		<i>Tshe la dbaṅ ba'i rig 'dzin</i>	not listed	absent
6		consort	not listed	absent
7		<i>Phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin</i>	referred to elsewhere	absent
8		consort	not listed	absent
9		<i>Lhun gyi grub pa'i rig 'dzin</i>	not listed	absent
10		consort	not listed	absent

Wrathful Deities (*Khro bo'i Lha tshogs*)

	<i>Samskṛt</i> name	Tibetan name	Ži khro sgyu 'phrul	gSañ ba'i sñiñ po
A	<i>Ādīheruka</i> and consort (usually absent)	(<i>Dañ po he ru ka</i>)		<i>dPal kun tu bzai po he ru ka</i>
	<i>Mahāśrīheruka</i> <i>Krodheśvarī</i>	<i>Che mchog he ru ka</i> transliterated	1 <i>dPal che mchog he ru ka</i> 11 consort	<i>Ma hā śrī he ru ka</i> (<i>rDo rje dbyiñs kyi</i>) <i>dbaṅ phyug ma</i>

Sanskrit name	Tibetan name	Zi khro sgyu 'phrul	gSañ ba'i stñin po
B Five Heruka-s and Krodheśvari-consorts	(He ru ka tñā)		
1	<i>Buddhaheruka</i>	3 <i>Buddha he ru ka</i>	Sarba ta thā ga ta mahā śrī her ru ka'
2	<i>Buddhakrodheśvari</i>	13 <i>Buddha kro dhi swa ri ma</i>	Sarba ta thā ga ta mahā kro tī śwa rīṃ
3	<i>Vajraheruka</i>	2 <i>Badzra he ru ka</i>	<i>Badzra mahā śrī he ru ka'</i>
4	<i>Vajrakrodheśvari</i>	12 <i>Badzra kro dhi swa ri ma</i>	<i>Mahā badzra da ra mahā kro tī śwa rīṃ</i>
5	<i>Ramaheruka</i>	4 <i>Ratna he ru ka</i>	<i>Ratna mahā śrī he ru ka'</i>
6	<i>Ramakrodheśvari</i>	14 <i>Ratna kro dhi swa ri ma</i>	<i>Surya radna dara mahā kro tī śwa rīṃ</i>
7	<i>Padmaheruka</i>	5 <i>Padma he ru ka</i>	<i>Padma mahā śrī he ru ka'</i>
8	<i>Padmakrodheśvari</i>	15 <i>Padma kro dhi swa ri ma</i>	<i>Hri śa ta sa ma ta padma mahā kro tī śwa rīṃ</i>
9	<i>Karmaheruka</i>	6 <i>Karma he ru ka</i>	<i>Kar ma mahā śrī he ru ka'</i>
10	<i>Karmakrodheśvari</i>	16 <i>Karma kro dhi swa ri ma</i>	<i>Sarba a ma ka mahā kro tī śwa rīṃ</i>
		7 <i>Rakṣa he ru ka</i>	
		17 <i>Rakṣa kro dhi swa ri ma</i>	
		8 <i>Sa nu he ru ka</i>	
		18 <i>Sa nu kro dhi swa ri ma</i>	
		9 <i>Gu hya he ru ka</i>	
		19 <i>Gu hya kro dhi swa ri ma</i>	
		10 <i>Yakṣa he ru ka</i>	
		20 <i>Yakṣa kro dhi swa ri ma</i>	

Saṃskṛt name	Tibetan name	Ži khro sgyu 'phrul	gSañ ba'i sñiñ po
C			
	<i>Kau'u ri/ Ke'u ri ma mo bgyad</i>		
11	<i>Gaurī</i>	transliterated	1 Ke'u ri ma/ dKar mo
12	<i>Caurī</i>	transliterated	2 Tso'u ri/ rKun mo
13	<i>Prāmohā</i>	transliterated	3 Pra mo ha/ rMoñs mo
14	<i>Veṛālī</i>	transliterated	4 Pe ta li/ ?Thal byed ma ^v
15	<i>Pukkaśī</i>	transliterated	5 Pu ka si/ 'sPos mo ^w
16	<i>Ghaśmarī</i>	transliterated	6 Kas ma ri/ gTum mo
17	<i>Caṇḍālī</i>	transliterated	8 Tsañ dha li/ ?Ma tshogs ma
18	<i>Śmaśānī</i>	transliterated	7 Sma śa ni/ Sme śa cañ
D			
	<i>yul gyi Phra men bgyad</i>		
	* = transliterated Skt. name		
19	<i>Siñhamukhī</i>	* Señ ge'i dbu cañ	1 Siñ ṅa mu ka/ Señ gdoñ
20	<i>Vyāghramukhī</i>	* sTag gi dbu cañ	2 Ba kri mu kha/ sTag gdoñ
21	<i>Sygalāmukhī</i>	* Wa yi dbu cañ	3 Śri la mu kha/ Wa gdoñ
22	<i>Śvamukhī</i>	* sPyañ mo'i dbu cañ	4 So na mu ka/ Khyi gdoñ
23	<i>Ġṛdhrāmukhī</i>	* Bya rgod dbu cañ	5 Kri ta mu ka/ bSad gdoñ
24	<i>Kaṇkamukhī</i>	* Dur bya'i dbu cañ	6 Kaṇ ka mu kha/ Kañ ka gdoñ
25	<i>Kākāmukhī</i>	* Bya rog dbu cañ	7 Kha kha mu ka/ Dur bya gdoñ
26	<i>Ulūkāmukhī</i>	* 'Ug pa'i dbu cañ	8 Hu lu ka mu ka/ 'Ug gdoñ

Sanskṛit name	Tibetan name	Źi khro sgyu 'phrul	gSañ ba'i sniñ po
E			
	sGo ma bži or sGo skyon khro mo bži		
27	rTa gdon dkar mo	rTa yi dbu can (sñon mo)	?1 Badra arya te tsa te ñal 'rDo rje sñiñ 'gro ma
28	Phag gdon ma ser mo	Phag gi dbu can (nag mo)	?2 Badra a mu kal 'rDo rje gdon mo ^s
29	Señ gdon ma dmar mo	Señ ge'i dbu can (dmar mo)	?3 Badra lo kal rDo rje 'jig rten ma
30	sBrul gdon ma ljan	s'Pyañ mo'i dbu can (ljan khu)	?4 Badra pa smi pa la ya ba to/ 'rDo rje ro lañs ma ^s
F			
	dBañ phyug ma ñi su rtsa brgyad		Mañdala 1
31	Rākṣasī	Srin mo smug nag g-yag mgo	Mañdala 2 = comm.2
32	Brāhmaṇī	Tshañs pa dmar ser sbrul mgo	2.1 Srin mo chen mo
33	Mahādevī	Lha chen ljan nag gzig mgo	2.2 Mi yi sñin mo
34	Vaiṣṇavī	gTogs 'dod sñon mo sre moñ mgo	2.10 Tshañs ma
35	Kumārī	gžon nu dmar mo dred mgo	? ?
36	Indrāñī	brGya byin dkar mo dom mgo	2.14 gžon nu mo ?
37	Vajrī	rDo rje ser mo pha wañ mgo	? ?
38	Sāñ	Ži ba dmar mo chu srin mgo	2.16 Ži ba mo
39	Aniñ	bDud rsi dmar mo sdig pa'i mgo	2.15 bDud rsi mo
40	Candra	Zla ba dkar mo khra'i mgo	? ?
41	Dañdā	Be con ljan nag wa'i mgo	? ?
42	Rākṣasi	Srin mo ser nag stag gi mgo	? ?

<i>Samskṛt name</i>	<i>Tibetan name</i>	<i>Zi khro sgyu 'phrul</i>	<i>gSañ ba'i sñiñ po</i> <i>Maṇḍala 1</i>	<i>Maṇḍala 2 = comm.2</i>
43	<i>Bhaktinī</i>	<i>Za ba ljañ nag bya r god mgo</i>	1.12 <i>Za ba mo</i>	2.17 <i>Za ba mo</i>
44	<i>Raṇi</i>	<i>dGa' ba dmar mo rta'i mgo</i>	1.13 <i>dGa' ba mo</i>	?2.4 <i>rGa ba mo?</i>
45	<i>Mahābali</i>	<i>sTobs chen dkar mo khyuñ gi mgo</i>	1.4 <i>dBañ mo</i>	2.12 <i>dBañ mo</i>
46	<i>Rākṣasi</i>	<i>Srin mo dmar mo khyi'i mgo</i>	1.11 <i>Srin mo</i>	2.18 <i>Srin mo</i>
47	<i>Abhilāṣi</i>	<i>'Dod pa dmar mo pu šud mgo</i>	?	?
48	<i>Vasurakṣā</i>	<i>Nor sruñ dmar ljañ ša ba'i mgo</i>	?1.17 <i>Grub mo</i>	?2.22 <i>Grub mo</i>
49	<i>Vāyudevi</i>	<i>Rluñ lha sñon mo spyañ ki'i mgo</i>	1.18 <i>Rluñ mo</i>	2.23 <i>Rluñ mo</i>
50	<i>Nārī</i>	<i>Mi mo dmar mo skyin gyi mgo</i>	?1.20 <i>Me mo</i>	?2.24 <i>Me mo</i>
51	<i>Vārāhī</i>	<i>Phag mo nag mo phag gi mgo</i>	1.21 <i>Phag mo</i>	2.25 <i>Phag mo</i>
52	<i>Vajrī</i>	<i>rDo rje dmar mo khwa twa'i mgo</i>	1.7 <i>dMar mo</i>	?2.3 <i>dMar mo</i>
53	<i>Mahānāṣā</i>	<i>sNa chen ljañ nag glañ chen mgo</i>	1.23 <i>sNa chad mo</i>	2.27 <i>sNa chad mo</i>
54	<i>Varuṇī</i>	<i>Chu lha sñon mo sbrul gyi mgo</i>	1.24 <i>Chu lha mo</i>	2.28 <i>Chu lha mo</i>
55	<i>Mahākālī</i>	<i>rDo rje dkar mo khu byug mgo ma</i>	1.25 <i>Nag mo chen mo</i>	2.6 <i>Nag mo chen mo</i>
56	<i>Cakalā?</i>	<i>rDo rje ser mo ra mgo ma</i>	1.26 <i>Ra mgo dmar ser chen mo</i>	2.7 <i>dMar ser mo</i>
57	<i>Kumbhakaraṇā</i>	<i>rDo rje dmar mo señ mgo ma</i>	1.27 <i>Bum sṇa sño nag chen mo</i>	2.8 <i>sño nag chen mo</i>
58	<i>Lambodarī</i>	<i>rDo rje ljañ nag sbrul mgo ma</i>	1.28 <i>gSūs 'dzin ser nag chen mo</i>	2.9 <i>Ser nag chen mo</i>
			?1.3 <i>'Khrug mo</i>	2.11 <i>'Khrug mo</i>
			?1.5 <i>'Jug sred mo</i>	2.13 <i>'Jug sred mo</i>
			?1.14 <i>Ra ro khrag 'thuiñ myos</i>	2.19 <i>Khrag 'thuiñ gis myos mo</i>
			?1.15 <i>gCig bu spyod ma</i>	2.20 <i>gCig pur spyod ma</i>
			?1.16 <i>Yid 'phrog ma</i>	2.21 <i>Yid 'phrog ma</i>
			?1.19 <i>gSod byed mo</i>	2.5 <i>gSod byed mo</i>
			?1.22 <i>rGan byed mo</i>	2.26 <i>rGan byed mo</i>

	'Ja' tshon ṣi khro only (<i>Ṣi khro ṇes don sñiñ po</i>): Sanskṛt name	Tibetan name	<i>Na rag</i>	<i>gSañ ba'i sñiñ po</i>
G	Five Jñānaḍākinī-s	<i>Ye śeś mkha' 'gro lña</i>		
59	<i>Buddhaḍākinī</i>	<i>rGyal yum rdo rje rnal 'byor chen mo</i>	absent	absent
60	<i>Vajraḍākinī</i>	<i>rDo rje mkha' 'gro shon mo</i>	absent	absent
61	<i>Ratnaḍākinī</i>	<i>Rin chen mkha' 'gro ser mo</i>	absent	absent
62	<i>Padmaḍākinī</i>	<i>Padma mkha' 'gro dmar mo</i>	absent	absent
63	<i>Karmaḍākinī</i>	<i>Las kyi mkha' 'gro ljan mo</i>	absent	absent
H	'Ja' tshon ṣi khro only (<i>Ṣi khro ṇes don sñiñ po</i>): <i>Vajrakīḷa/kumārāheruka</i> and consort	<i>rDo rje phur bal gZon nu he ru ka</i>		
64	<i>Vajrakīḷa/kumārāheruka</i>	<i>bCom ldan rdo rje gZon nu</i>	absent	absent
65	consort	consort	absent	absent

Conspectus of the male and female Bodhisattva-s

Chos nīd bar do'i gsal 'debs		(Zi khro nes don sñiñ po)		Zi khro sgyu 'phrul		gSañ ba'i sñiñ po	
1	Sa yi sñiñ po	1	mig gi rnam śes	1	Sa yi sñiñ po	1	rDo rje mthoñ ba
3	(Vajra)lāsyā	9			rDo rje sgeg mo	5	rDo rje sgeg mo
2	Byams pa	6	rna ba'i rnam śes		Byams pa	10	rDo rje thos byed
4	(Vajra)puspā	14			rDo rje me tog ma	14	rDo rje me tog (ma)
5	Kun tu bzañ po	7	sna ba'i rnam śes		Kun tu bzañ po	2	rDo rje thos pa
7	(Vajra)mālā	10			rDo rje 'phreñ ba ma	6	rDo rje phreñ ba ma
6	Nam mkha'i sñiñ po	2	lce'i rnam śes		Nam mkha'i sñiñ po	9	rDo rje mthoñ byed
8	(Vajra)dhūpā	13			rDo rje bdug spos ma	13	rDo rje bdug pa (ma)
9	sPyan ras gzigs	3	lus kyi rnam śes		sPyan ras gzigs	3	rDo rje myoñ ba
11	(Vajra)gītā	11			rDo rje sgra dbyaṅs ma	7	rDo rje glu ba ma
10	'Jam dpal dbyaṅs	8	yiḍ kyi rnam śes		'Jam dpal dbyaṅs	11	rDo rje myoñ byed
12	(Vajra)ālokā	15			rDo rje mar me ma	15	rDo rje mar me (ma)
13	sGrib pa rnam sef'	5	kun gzi rnam śes		sGrib pa rnam par sel ba	12	rDo rje snom byed
15	(Vajra)gandhā	16			rDo rje dri chab ma	16	rDo rje dri chab (ma)
14	Phyag na rdo rje	4	ñon nīd rnam śes		Phyag na rdo rje	4	rDo rje snom pa
16	(Vajra)ṇṛṇyā	12			Gar bsgyur ma	8	rDo rje gar ba ma

spyan gyi rnam śes
sñan gyi dbaṅ po
sñan gyi rnam śes
spyan gyi dbaṅ po
śaṅs kyi rnam śes
śaṅs kyi rnam śes
ljags kyi dbaṅ po
ljags kyi rnam śes

* Here called *Yum chen mo kun tu bzai mo*(1) and *Yum chen mo nam mkha'i dbyins phyug ma* (the other consorts are also referred to as *Yum chen mo + rDo rje, Rin chen, Padma*, and *Las kyi dbyin's phyug ma*)

^b This group of deities is named twice, in transliteration and in Tibetan translation.

^c =*Sa'i sñiñ po* (comm.1 and 2)

^d =*Byans pa* (comm.1 and 2)

^e =*Kun tu bzai po* (comm.1 and 2)

^f =*Nam kha'i sñiñ po* (comm.1)

^g =*sPyan ras gzigs* (comm.1)

^h (= *Jam dpal dbyañs*)

ⁱ (= *sGrib pa rnam sel*)

^j =*Phyag na rdo rje* (comm.1)

^k I would have expected *ja* here.

^l Only in the *mantra cum dhāraṇī* section, in comm.2: *Badrā he ru ka!*

^m In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

ⁿ Only in the *mantra cum dhāraṇī* section, in comm.2 *Buddha he ru ka!*

^o In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

^p Comm.2 *Ratna he ru ka.*

^q In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

^r Comm. *Padma he ru ka.*

^s In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

^t Comm.2 *Karma he ru ka.*

^u In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

^v Cf. *sgo ma 4, Ro lams ma.*

^w Comm.2: *rBos mo?*

^x Comm.2: *gDun mo?*

^y =*Veṭālī*, cf. *Kauṭū rī ma 4, Pe ta li*

^z The Kalsang Lhundup (1969)-edition mistakenly reads (another) *phag mgo*, all the other texts consulted (see appendix 1) read *pha wan*.

^{aa} Fully: *sGrib pa rnam par sel ba.*

There is a wealth of more, interesting material available in the *gSañ ba'i sñin po*-cycle and I am aware that there is a lot more of the text and context from which the deities are extracted which deserves to be examined more closely, but time and space are too limited to allow me to discuss any more of it here. We shall briefly return to this cycle of *tantra-s* in the following chapters, when presenting some of the traditional "interpretations" of *ži khro*.

Now I should like to turn to an important and, considering the number of texts extant, rather popular class of literature, which was already briefly presented in the introduction to this thesis. This is a class of confession- and expiation-texts, many of which in their purification ritual make use of a *maṇḍala* of peaceful and wrathful deities. The texts belonging to this group usually feature the mark "*na rag doñ sprug(s)*"²¹² in their titles.

The most important text (to our concern at least) was already utilised in the above tables, i.e. the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doñ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus*²¹³. In the introduction we saw that the text presents itself as a translation from a *Saṃskṛt* original that was allegedly composed by the legendary saint *Padma-sambhava* and the equally legendary *Kāśmīrian* scholar *Vimalamitra* (eighth century?), the text thus claims to date back to about the eighth century AD. It is interesting to note here, that the translators associated with this text, to wit, *sNags Jñāna-kumāra* (eighth century AD) and *Rin chen mchog* (???-836) from *rMa*, are also connected with the translation of the root-*tantra* of the *gSañ ba'i sñin po*. An abbreviated version of (most probably) the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* exists under the pithy title *Na rag doñ sprugs* (XLI.372)²¹⁴, this text is said to be "unearthed" by a '*Gyur med bstan 'phel*.

For quite obvious reasons these texts concerned with confession- and expiation-rituals are closely connected with funerary rites. In fact, one of these *Na rag doñ sprug(s)*-texts, featuring a summary of a *ži khro-maṇḍala*, the *Ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprug*²¹⁵, attributed to the grand old (noble)man of *rDzogs chen*, *Ñan ral nī ma 'od zer* (1124-1192)²¹⁶, was in its original (composite and

²¹² *Na rag doñ sprug(s)* also refers to an emanation of *Avalokiteśvara* and is thus considered to be a deity itself, analogous to the deity *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*. For a list of some *Na rag doñ sprug(s)*-text, see Appendix I.

²¹³ More bibliographical information can be found in Appendix I, a collational work-edition based on the three block-prints mentioned in the introduction is presented in Appendix II.

²¹⁴ Available from the library of the Kern Institute, Leiden, in the Johan van Manen Collection, under registration numbers: Br.79/H242.

²¹⁵ See Appendix I.

²¹⁶ At least according to block-print XL.1823, which was printed from the 1969 blocks that are preserved in the *He mi rgod tsañ*-hermitage. According to the title-description provided with the IASWR-microfiche-edition of this block-print the text was "rediscovered" by *Ñan ral nī ma 'od zer*, likewise in the title-description of another block-print printed in 1968 in Kelang from the blocks preserved at *Bho gar*-monastery.

According to Dowman (1994, p.55) the text was composed in the nineteenth century by the '*Jum mgon Koñ sprul, Blo gros mtha' yas* (1813-1899) on the basis of two texts by the *gter ston Gu ru chos kyi dbañ phyug* (1212-1280), who is said to have been a disciple of *Ñan ral nī ma 'od zer* (and main disciple) '*Gro mgon nam mkha' dpal bu* (see Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), p.763). These two texts are according to Dowman, the *bKa' brgyad gsañ ba yonś rdzogs*, and the '*Khor ba doñ sprugs*, which last includes the *bKa' brgyad drag po ran byuñ ba'i ži khro na rag skoñ bśags kyi cho ga* (see Dowman (1994), p.55, n.62).

Most of the texts bearing the title *Ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprug* have been extended after their colophon for a few folio-pages, some of them have an extra and longer addition to this (this last category is marked as "extended" in Appendix I). The part preceding the colophons is identical in all versions. In the colophon some interesting information is recorded. All

usually slightly enlarged) *gter ma*-version as well as in an "extended version" included in many of the younger compilations of the *Kar gliñ ži khro*-type.

The *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* employs a *ži khro-maṇḍala* of one hundred and ten deities, which is very similar to the one described in the *Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs. Vajra(sattva)-Akṣobhya* (here translated as *rDo rje Mi bskyod pa*) is (again) stationed in the eastern quarter, displaying the *Buddha-(buddha)family* in the centre of the *maṇḍala* (the usual arrangement for *Yoga-tantra-s*), the *Vajra Heruka*, however, is mentioned before the *Buddha Heruka*, implying that it is associated with the centre of the *maṇḍala*, revealing an incongruity between the arrangements of the peaceful and wrathful *maṇḍala-s*. An incongruity moreover that also appears in some of the texts that refer the *Vajra-(buddha)family* to the centre of the *maṇḍala* (for instance in some of the *mantra-s* and *dhāraṇī-s* pertaining to the peaceful *maṇḍala* mentioned in the fourth chapter of the root-*tantra* of the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*). There is a more prominent difference, though, for the five *Rig 'dzin* (*Skt. Vidyādhara-s*) and their consorts are conspicuously absent in the *maṇḍala*. This notwithstanding the fact that *Rig 'dzin* are frequently referred to throughout the text, two of the five *Rig 'dzin* that are mentioned

versions (mentioned in Appendix I) except the *Rin chen gter mdzod*-version (XXIX.5.171-184) have recorded in their colophons that the text is composed on the basis of what is taught in two texts, these are specified as follows: *na rag bśags bskañ ži khro gsañ ba yoñs rdzogs dan rañ šar* (*gñis las bstan pa*). This probably does not refer to two texts called *Na rag bśags bskañ ži khro gsañ ba yoñs rdzogs* and *Rañ šar*, but this is most probably a cryptic reference to the teaching and the cycles the teaching is taken from, so we should probably read this as: the *na rag bśags bskañ-ži khro* as taught in the (*bKa' brgyad*) *gsañ ba yoñs rdzogs* and in the (*bKa' brgyad drag po rañ byuñ*) *rañ šar*-cycles. We are further assured that the editing is done truthfully by someone carrying the name of *Padma(sambhava)*, in such a manner that not even a single word had been added or corrupted.

The *Rin chen gter mdzod*-version has a deviating colophon, here (XXIX.5.171-184, p.184, ll.2f.) it is said that the *gter ma bKa' brgyad gsañ ba yoñs rdzogs* by *Gu ru Chos kyi dbaṅ phyug* and the *Ži khro na rag skoñ bśags*-ritual that came from *gter ma bKa' brgyad drag po rañ byuñ rañ šar* by *Myaṅ (= Nañ)* have been joined together here. Dowman probably consulted this last version. The title he mentions for the second work, the *bKa' brgyad drag po rañ byuñ ha'i ži khro na rag skoñ bśags kyi cho ga* is probably erroneous due to either a misreading of his text or possibly a different recension. For the *Rin chen gter mdzod*-version actually reads: *bKa' brgyad drag po rañ byuñ rañ šar las byuñ ha'i ži khro na rag skoñ bśags kyi cho ga*. I presume that Dowman because of the omission read this phrase as one title.

As to the first colophon mentioned above, the titles appearing there probably refer to two cycles from the *bKu' brgyad*, to wit the *bKa' brgyad gsañ ba yoñs rdzogs*-cycle (see XXIX.22.369 - 23.5), revelations attributed to the *gter ston Chos kyi dbaṅ phyug* and the *bKa' brgyad drag po rañ byuñ rañ šar*, revealed by the *gter ston rGod kyi ldem 'phru can* (1337-1408) (see XXIX.23.7-207). Possibly *rañ šar* refers to the *Rig pa rañ šar chen po'i rgyud*, which is extant in the *rŋiñ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*, Vol.I, pp.389-855 of the reproduction of the *A 'dzom 'brug pa*-blocks (three-volume edition), unfortunately the first volume of this edition is currently not available to me. And as to the editor "Padma", *Padma-sambhava* is said to have had three important emanations, *mchog sprul sku rnam gsum*, the *gter ston Nañ ral ŋi ma 'od zer* was considered to be the first, the *gter ston Gu ru Chos kyi dbaṅ phyug* the second and the *gter ston rGod kyi ldem 'phru can* the third emanation; see Dowman (1994), p.53 esp. n.57 and Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), pp.755-770 and pp.780-783). It is rather peculiar, though, that the *Rañ šar* is attributed to *Myaṅ* or *Nañ ral* here and not to *rGod kyi ldem 'phru can*. For, considering the cycles mentioned in the colophon mentioned first, *Nañ ral ŋi ma 'od zer* would be the only emanation of *Padmasambhava* not involved in this text, and regarding the dates *rGod kyi ldem 'phru can* could be the only *Padma'i miñ can* to be able to make use of his own *gter ma*. One wonders why *Nañ ral ŋi ma 'od zer* had to be brought in. A possible clue lies in the fact that a very similar (but not identical) *Na rag doñ sprug(s)*-text exists, the *Ži khro na rag doñ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khruś 'gyod tshañs kyi cho ga dri med bśags rgyud* (Kern 28.542.40 and XL.1827), which according to its colophon was a *gter ma* of the "emanation-body" *Nañ (ral ŋi ma 'od zer)*, it is originally said to have been a teaching given by *sLoh dpon Padma to Jo mo mTsho rgyol*. So the connection of the name of *Nañ ral ŋi ma 'od zer* with the discovery of an *Na rag doñ sprug(s)*-text was already an established fact with this text.

in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs-maṇḍala* are even referred to by name²¹⁷. The expanded *maṇḍala* of one-hundred and ten deities is not achieved here by including the *Rig 'dzin* and their consorts in the *maṇḍala*, but by expanding the *krodha-maṇḍala* with ten more deities to a total of sixty-eight *krodhadēvatā*. That is to say, by including the primal *Heruka* and his consort (that are usually not counted) while adding an extra four *Heruka-s* together with their *Krodheśvari-consorts*²¹⁸.

The names of the Gatekeepers and the twenty-eight powerful *Yoginī-s* of the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* agree much better with those of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs-maṇḍala* than those mentioned in (the two *maṇḍala-s* of) the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*. That is to say, only one of the names of the Gatekeepers and two of the names of the *Yoginī-s* do not match and, unlike the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*, the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* lists the *Yoginī-s* in the same order as the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

In the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, however, two *Na rag don sprug(s)*-texts are included that, while preserving the extended *maṇḍala* of *Heruka-s*²¹⁹, do feature *maṇḍala-s* of Gatekeepers and *Yoginī-s* that are very similar to those in the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*²²⁰. These texts are, the *rDo rje sems dpa' thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsuñs pa'i ži khro na rak don sprugs thabs* (XXIX.5.119-151)²²¹, and the *Ži khro na rak don sprug gi dbañ chog bdud rtsi'i gañ gā* (XXIX.5.189-213)²²². The Gatekeepers in XXIX.5.119-151 are also referred to by Tibetan names, but these do not match with those in the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* and are more similar to the ones found in the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. However, not all the *Na rag don sprug(s)*-texts extant in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* follow this pattern, the *Ži khro na rak don sprug gi skoñ bśags thugs rje'i zla 'od* (XXIX.5.153-187)²²³, for instance, has the same *maṇḍala-s* of Gatekeepers and *Yoginī-s* found in the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul*²²⁴, in almost exactly the same order, while the extended *maṇḍala* of *Heruka-s* is also present.

Another point of agreement with the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* in the three texts mentioned above (that is including XXIX.5.153-187) is that the *Vajra-family* in all of these texts is relegated to the centre of the *maṇḍala*; that is -- again like in the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* -- except for a single stray *mantra* or *dhāraṇī* in the peaceful *maṇḍala* (see XXIX.5.189-213, p.206, ll.4-6).

A very interesting witness is the *maṇḍala* described in a text called *Ži khro ñan son sbyoñ ba'i chog sgrig(b)s khrom(s) dkrugs gsal ba'i rgyan žes bya ba klags chog(s) mar bkod pa* (XLI.651)²²⁵, =XLI.131²²⁶, XLI.27²²⁷)²²⁸. Here we do not find an

²¹⁷ See for instance XLI.336b, 653, folio 4v, #1.2: <grub pa'i> *Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin* and XLI.336b, 653, folio 10v, #1.1: *Phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin*.

²¹⁸ See the third table above.

²¹⁹ Another point of agreement with the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* is that in both texts the *Vajra-family* is, -- again like in the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* -- except for a single "stray" *mantra* or *dhāraṇī* (i.e. in XXIX.5.189-213, p.206, ll.4-6), relegated to the centre of the *maṇḍala*. The same holds true for XXIX.5.153-187, which, however, follows the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* rather than the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* in these *maṇḍala-s*.

²²⁰ This *maṇḍala* also appears in the *bKa' brgyad bde gśegs 'dus pa*, a *bKa' brgyad-cycle*, which is said to be revealed by *Ñan rul ñi ma 'od zer*; see a brief overview in XXIX.21.239-241.

²²¹ Not dated, the last name in the list of the dignitaries respectfully remembered in the colophon is a great *gter ston* of recent ages *mChog gyur gliñ pa* (1829-1870), which would place the text in the nineteenth-century.

²²² The text is said to have been compiled by *mChog gyur gliñ pa* having combined both root-*tantra* and the *dBan gi 'phrin las*.

²²³ The text is said to have been written by *mChog gyur gliñ pa* as an *upadeśa* to the *Nan 'gro'i lsha gduñ sel hyed* which came from the *Kun bzun rdo rje sems dpa' yi thugs rje rol pa'i chu gter* and was said to be brought to light by *Gu ru Padma 'byuñ gnas*.

²²⁴ The deviations that do occur in the names are merely a matter of spelling.

²²⁵ Reading: *sgrigs khrom*.

²²⁶ Reading: *sgrigs khroms* (in the Nebesky-Wojtkowitz (1953) catalogue only).

extended *maṇḍala* of *Heruka-s* (nor a *maṇḍala* of *Rig 'dzin*), thus the total number of deities here amounts to one-hundred. The Gatekeepers and *Yogini-s* in the wrathful *maṇḍala* follow the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po-maṇḍala(-s)* (note that the colours of the Gatekeepers are the same as in the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul* and the *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)-text* XXIX.5.153-187). The *Ži khro ṇaṅ soṅ sbyoṅ ba* moreover shows a variant peaceful *maṇḍala*. Though the *Vajra-(buddha)family* is apparently, considering for instance the order of the *Heruka-s*, here too positioned in the centre of the *maṇḍala*, *Mi bskyod pa* together with his consort *rDo rje dbyiṅs phyug ma* are introduced in a separate *maṇḍala* with *Kun tu bzaṅ po* and *Kun tu bzaṅ mo* preceding the four other *Tathāgata-s*, and are associated with the eastern quarter of this separate *maṇḍala* (*Kun tu bzaṅ po* is associated with the western quarter).

As far as the content is concerned we are no doubt dealing with a genuine *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)-text*²²⁹, but the title clearly suggests another set of *tantric* purification rituals, the *Ṇaṅ soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba* (*Skt. Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*)²³⁰.

This is a rather large cycle of purgatory texts focusing on the deities *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*, *Uṣṇīṣavijaya* and *Sitātapatra*. Rites for the dead are explicitly described in the root-*tantra*. The *maṇḍala-s* treated in the *Ṇaṅ soṅ sbyoṅ ba* are quite different from those described for the *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)-texts* and there is moreover, even though the material is to a certain extent related in content, little similarity in phrasing and in presentation. Nevertheless this cycle might still have provided a matrix for the species of confession- and expiation-literature, and combined with a *ži khro-maṇḍala* of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* it might come close to something like a blueprint for a *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)-text*. It might be interesting to note here that two of the five *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs*-block-print-editions consulted²³¹ are concluded by a short *Ṇaṅ soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba*-text; in the course of time they apparently were associated not only with death and dying (which, regarding their content is a quite obvious connection) but also with a *ži khro-maṇḍala* in this context.

According to the colophon the first Tibetan translation was made at the end of the eighth century by the Indian scholar *Śāntigarbha* and the Tibetan translator *Bande Jayarakṣita*, this translation was revised by *Ācārya Rin chen mchog* from *rMa* before the second half of the ninth century (the date of his death). Together with several commentaries this cycle was included in the canon²³². A second translation by *Chos rje dpal* from *Chog* (1197-1264) and *Devendradeva* never was subject of any commentary²³³.

²²⁷ Reading: *sgribs khrom* and *chogs*.

²²⁸ The text is said to be composed by *Raṅ hyuṅ rdo rje* (1284-1339) on the basis of a "good" (read: unsuspected) *hKa' ma-Tantra* from the early translation period, the *Ži khro khrom dkrugs*, which was famed among such realised scholars like *Vi ma la* and *gSaṅ tabs*.

²²⁹ This is mentioned explicitly in the colophon (XLI.651, 13t, folio 40r, ll.5f.).

²³⁰ See Appendix I.

²³¹ I.e. Kalsang Lhundup (1969) and Kern 28.452.4.

²³² See Appendix I.

²³³ For (this and) more information the reader is referred to a study by Skorupsky (1983, Introduction, pp.xiii-xxix).

In order to illustrate the remarkably close match between the *maṇḍala*-s of Gatekeepers and powerful *Yoginī*-s in the "XXIX.5.119-151"- and "XXIX.-5.189-213"-*Na rag doñ sprug(s)*-texts and the *Ži khro nan soñ sbyoñ ba* on the one hand and in the *gSañ ba'i sñin po* on the other, in the table below the deities described in these texts are juxtaposed.

gSañ ba'i sñiñ po

- 1 Badzra arya te tsa te ñal ?rDo rje sñiñ 'gro ma
 2 Badzra a mu kal ?rDo rje gdoñ mo
 3 Badzra lo kal rDo rje 'jug rten ma
 4 Badzra pa smi pa la ya ba to/ ?rDo rje ro lais ma

XXIX.5.119-151

* = transliterated +

- *^a rTa gdoñ dkar mo
 *^d Phag gdoñ ser mo
 *^s P^rel gdoñ dmar mo
 *^s P^ryañ gdoñ ljan mo

XXIX.5.189-213

* = transliterated +

- *^b rTa gdoñ (ma)
 *^c Phag gdoñ (ma)
 *^b sP^rel gdoñ ma
 *^s P^ryañ gdoñ ma

XLI.651, 13t

* = transliterated +

- *^e rTa gdoñ ma sñon mo
 *^f Phag gdoñ ma nag mo
 *^g Señ gdoñ ma dmar mo
 *^h sP^ryañ gdoñ ma ljan gu

gSañ ba'i sñiñ po
Mañḍala 1 Mañḍala 2 = comm.2

XXIX.5.119-151

Ži ba'i las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug

- 1.1 Srin mo 2.1 Srin mo chen mo
 chen mo sñin mo 2.2 Mi yi sñin mo
 1.2 Tshañs ma 2.10 Tshañs ma
 1.3 'Khrug mo 2.11 'Khrug mo
 1.4 dBaṅ mo 2.12 dBaṅ mo
 ?1.5 'Jug sred mo ?2.13 'Jug sred mo
 1.6 gZon nu mo 2.14 gZon nu mo

Ži ba'i las ...

Srin mo Mañḍala 2 = comm.2

- Pra hma ñil Tshañs pa dmar ser sbrul gdoñ
 Rau trīl 'Khrugs mo dmar ser gzig gdoñ
 Bai ṣṇa bīl Khyab 'jug dmar ser pha dbaṅ
 6 Inḍra ñil brGya byin dkar dmar sre gdoñ
 5 Ku mā rīl dBaṅ mo dmar skya dred gdoñ

Tshañs pa dmar skya sbrul gdoñ

*^m 'Khrug mo ser nag gzig gdoñ5 *^a Khyab 'jug ma ser mo pha wañ mgo can4 *^b brGya byin ma ... sre moñ mgo tsan6 *^c dBaṅ mo dmar skya dred gdoñ

rGyas pa'i las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug

- Badzra siñha laṅl Ži ba dmar mo dom mgo
 Amri to/ bDud rsi chu sñin sñon mo
 Saumal Ži ba ño skya sdig gdoñ
 Dañḍa dāṅl Be con nag mo khra mgo
 Rakṣa sñi Srin mo dmar nag wa gdoñ
 Bhakṣa sñi Za byed nag mo stag mgo

rGyas pa'i las ...

* Ži ba

*^a bDud rsi

* Ži ba mo

* Be con

* Srin mo

* Za byed

* Ži ba dmar mo dom mgo can

* bDud rsi ma sñon mo chu sñin mgo can

* Ži ba ma ño skya sdig pa'i mgo can

* Be con ma nag mo khra mgo can

* Srin mo dmar nag wa gdoñ

* Za byed nag mo stag mgo

gSañ ba'i sñiñ po

Mañḍala 1

Mañḍala 2 = comm.2

XXIX.5.119-151

XXIX.5.189-213 XLI.651, 131

* * = as XXIX.5.119-151

1.13 dGa' ba mo

1.14 Ra ro khrag 'thuñ myos

1.15 gCig bu spyod ma

1.16 Yid 'phrog ma

1.17 Grub mo

1.18 Rluñ mo

ʔ2.4 rGa' ba mo

2.19 Khrag 'thuñ gis myos mo

2.20 gCig pur spyod ma

2.21 Yid 'phrog ma

2.22 Grub mo

2.23 Rluñ mo

dBaṅ gi las mḍzad dbaṅ phyug drug

Rāti badzra/ dGa' byed dmar mo rgod gdon

Ru dhi ra mar/ā/ Khrag 'thuñ dmar mo rita gdon

Eka tsa ri nī/ rDo rje ser mo khyuñ gdon

Ma no ha rañ/ 'Dod pa dmar mo khyi gdon

Siddhi kañ/ Nor sruñ dkar dmar pu šud

Pā ya bī/ Rluñ mo dmar skya śa mgo

dBaṅ gi las ...

* dGa' byed

*ⁿ Khrag 'thuñ

* gCig spyod

* 'Dod pa

* Nor sruñ

* Rluñ lha

*t *

*v *

*x *

*z *

*bb *

*dd *

1.19 gSod byed mo

1.20 Me mo

1.21 Phag mo

1.22 rGaṅ byed mo

1.23 sNa chad mo

1.24 Chu lha mo

2.5 gSod byed mo

2.24 Me mo

2.25 Phag mo

2.26 rGaṅ byed mo

2.27 sNa chad mo

2.28 Chu lha mo

Drag po'i las mḍzad dbaṅ phyug drug

Ma hā mā ra badzra/ gSod byed ljañ nag spyañ mo

Agnā yel/ Me mo ljañ dmar skyin gdon

Bā rā hī/ Ma mo ljañ ser phag gdon

Tsa muñḍī/ rGaṅ byed ljañ ñon khra mgo

Suta nām/ sNa chen ljañ dmar glañ mgo

Bā ru nī/ Chu lha ljañ dmar sbrul gdon

Drag po'i las ...

*^{tt} gSod byed*ⁱⁱ Me mo

* Phag mo

* rGaṅ byed

^{rr} sNa chen^{uu} Chu lha

*ff *

*kk *

*ll *

*mm *

*nn *

*pp *

*tt *

1.25 Nag mo chen mo

1.26 Ra ngo dmar ser chen mo

1.27 Bum śna sño nag chen mo

1.28 gSus 'dzin ser nag chen mo

2.6 Nag mo chen mo

2.7 dMar ser mo

2.8 sNo nag chen mo

2.9 Ser nag chen mo

Badzra mahā kā lī/ Khu byug nag mo

Badzra tsa ka lā/ Ra gdon gser mo

Badzra kumbha karñāl/ Señ gdon dmar mo

Badzra lambo dha rāl/ skya ga ljañ nag

sgo sruñ bñi

*^{vv} dBaṅ phyug nag mo

* rDo rje ma

^{aa} Bum śna ma^{dd} gSus 'dzin ma*^{ww} **^{yy} **^{bbb} **^{ccc} **^{ttt} *

-
- ^a *Badzra ārya te dza te ſa.*
^b *Ārya te dza teſh.*
^c *Badzra ārya te dza te,* N.B. colour as in *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* and XXIX.5.153-187.
^d *Badzra a mu khe.*
^e *Badzra a mu khe.*
^f *Badzra a mu khe,* N.B. colour as in *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* and XXIX.5.153-187.
^g *Badzra lo ga.*
^h *Badzra lo ka.*
ⁱ *Badzra lo ka,* N.B. colour as in *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* and XXIX.5.153-187.
^j *Badzra bha smiñ pā la ya ba tu.*
^k *Bhasmiñ bā la ya ba tu.*
^l *Bhasmi bā la ya ba tu,* N.B. colour as in *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* and XXIX.5.153-187.
^m *Rau tri.*
ⁿ *Be ſa bai.*
^o *In dra ni,* transliteration listed in the sixth place.
^p *Ku ma ri,* transliteration listed in the fourth place.
^q *Anri tan.*
^r *Sau mya.*
^s *Dandā dam.*
^t *Ra ti badzra.*
^u *Ru dhi ra mattā.*
^v *Ru dhi ra matta.*
^w *Khrag 'thuñ ma dmar nag rto gdoñ.*
^x *Eka tsa ri ni.*
^y *gCig spyod ma dkar dmar khyuñ gdoñ.*
^z *Ma no ha ra ma.*
^{aa} *'Dod pa dmar ser khyi gdoñ.*
^{ab} *Siddhi ka ma.*
^{ac} *Nor sruñ dkar dmar pu šud mgo.*
^{ad} *Wa ya wa.*
^{ae} *Rluñ mo dmar skya śa ba'i mgo.*
^{af} *Ma hā mā ra ni.*
^{ag} *Mokā mā ra ſa badzra.*
^{ah} *gSod byed ma ljañ nag sphyan gdoñ.*

- ⁱⁱ Agme yai.
^j Agni.
^{xx} Me mo dmar ser skyin gdoñ.
ⁱⁱ Wa ra ki.
^{xxx} Phag mo ljañ ser phag gdoñ.
^{xx} Tsa muṇḍi.
^{xx} rGan byed ljañ ñon khra ta'i mgo can.
^{xx} Su ta nāñ.
^{xx} Su ta ni.
ⁱⁱ sNa chen ljañ dmar ba glai mgo can.
^{xx} Ba ru nī.
ⁱⁱ Wa ru nī.
^{xx} Chu lha ma ljañ dmar sbrul gdoñ.
^{xx} Badzra ma kã kã li.
^{xxx} Badzra mahã kã li.
^{xx} Nag mo chen mo khu byug mgo can.
^{xx} Badzra tsa kã la.
^{xx} rDo rje sñon mo ra gdoñ.
^{xxx} Badzra kumbha ka rñã.
^{xxx} Badzra kumbha karṇa.
^{ccc} Bum rna ma dmar mo señ gdoñ.
^{ddd} Badzra la mbodha rã.
^{eee} Badzra lambho dha rã
ⁱⁱⁱ sSus 'dzin ma ljañ nag skya ka'i mgo can.

The divergences in the *maṇḍala*-s described so far mainly centre on three variations of the *ži khro-maṇḍala*:

- either the *Buddha* or the *Vajra Heruka* and (for) *Tathāgata* (i.e. *rNam par snan mdzad* or *rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa*) are attributed to the centre;
- the *maṇḍala* of one-hundred deities may be enlarged to one-hundred and ten by an extension of the *maṇḍala* of *Heruka*-s or, alternatively, by the inclusion of a *maṇḍala* of *Rig 'dzin* (and consorts);
- two overlapping but clearly distinguishable sets of twenty-eight powerful *Yoginī*-s are involved.

Obviously both the set of *Rig 'dzin* and the extended set of *Heruka*-s represent later developments in the *ži khro-maṇḍala*-s. I am moreover inclined to assume that *maṇḍala*-s using a *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*-derived set of powerful *Yoginī*-s are older than those, possibly, depending on the (allegedly) eighth-century *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul-maṇḍala*. But the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul*-set of powerful *Yoginī*-s might well be derived from another more ancient *maṇḍala* that I do not yet know of; as I stated at the beginning of this paragraph, it is not feasible to examine all possibly relevant *maṇḍala*-s of earlier phases in *Buddhist* or *Hindu tantra* here.

If these assumptions are correct, we might then continue this line of speculation and presume that, starting from the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po-maṇḍala*-(s) (before the eighth century AD) of one-hundred deities, in certain *tantric* traditions a *maṇḍala* developed in which the set of *Heruka*-s was extended by ten deities (consorts included), a *maṇḍala* which continued to exist in the *Na rag don sprug*(s)-texts (XXIX.5.119-151 and XXIX.5.189-213) and without the *Heruka*-s in the *Ži khro nan son sbyon ba* mentioned above. In a very early stage (eighth century) a variant developed from (or possibly parallel to) this *maṇḍala*, which featured the same extended set of *Heruka*-deities and consorts, but which had incorporated a different set of powerful *Yoginī*-s, this is the *maṇḍala* we find in the *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul*. And it is probably from this extended and altered *Ži khro sgyu 'phrul-maṇḍala* that the later *Kar glin ži khro-maṇḍala* developed by moving the centre of the *maṇḍala* to the *Buddha*-(*buddha*)family and exchanging the extra *Heruka*-deities and consorts for ten neutral deities, the five *Rig 'dzin* (plus consorts), thus winning an extra *maṇḍala*, allowing a tripartite classification of the *ži khro*, whilst remaining at an extended *maṇḍala* of one-hundred and ten deities; as testified in for instance the *Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (before the fourteenth century) and the *Chos spyod bag chags ran grol*. And, most probably, the *'ja' tshon ži khro-maṇḍala* developed again from the *kar glin ži khro-maṇḍala*, as testified in the *Ži khro nes don sñiñ po* in *'Ja' tshon sñiñ po*'s original *gter ma*-versions (seventeenth century) and *Nag dbañ kun dga' bstan 'dzin*'s reworking (eighteenth century). The *Ži khro nes don sñiñ po* adds an extra five *Ye ses mkha' 'gro ma* and moreover the *gZon nu He ru ka* (plus consort) to the *krodha-maṇḍala*. These two additional sets of deities are -- like the 42 peaceful, the 58 wrathful, and 10 *Rig 'dzin*-deities -- attributed to a *cakra* of their own, thus stepping up to a five-fold partition (of *cakra*-s employed in the *yoga*-practices involved with this rite, see chapter 2) and bringing the sum-total of deities to one-hundred and seventeen.

The material discussed so far does not contradict these hypothetical relationships but I have to admit that I do not find the evidence very compelling either. More information is required before any definite conclusions can be drawn.

In this paragraph I shall not discuss the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* beyond what is mentioned above (especially in the tables), this text will be discussed further in the following (paragraph and chapters). The same holds true for the *Ži khro ñes don sñiñ po*, which will be examined further in the second chapter of this thesis for its explicit and rather elaborate "interpretations" of the deities and *maṇḍala-s* discussed.

1.3 Conflation of the Concepts *Bar do* and *Ži khro*

In the previous two paragraphs developments in the concepts (*antarābhava* cum) *bar do* and *ži khro* were discussed.

We are confronted with a jumble of *bar do*-traditions that sometimes show signs of historical relation yet sometimes do not, at any rate, they do not seem to fit into a linear scheme of transmission in any satisfactory way. A *chos ŋid bar do* appears relatively late, but the exact chronology of the earliest *Buddhist* testimonies for this new *bar do* remains rather obscure.

We moreover examined several *ži khro-maṇḍala*-s, starting some time before the eighth century with the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po*, continuing through a class of more or less related confession- and expiation-texts (the texts examined developed at various points in the interval between the eighth and the fourteenth century), and reaching the focal point of this research somewhere before the fourteenth century -- the upper limit for the *Chos ŋid bar do'i gsal 'debs* -- with the first *Buddhist* text in which a fully described *maṇḍala* of *ži khro* appears in a *bar do* of its own. We completed the survey with a short reference to a late witness, the *'Ja' tshon ži khro*, especially the eighteenth-century *Ži khro ñes don sñiñ po*. It is possible to suggest some lines of development in the *maṇḍala*-s discussed, but these suggestions must for the time being remain highly hypothetical and therefore uncertain.

In this, the last paragraph of this chapter, we shall take a closer look at the exact point in which the concepts of *bar do* and *ži khro* were combined, and some hypotheses concerning the doctrinal significance and consequences of this conflation will be tried. Moreover I should like to adduce some of the relevant material concerning a *ži khro bar do* extant in those traditions that were later styled as "*Bon*" and see if that will create a broader and hopefully clearer perspective on the earliest developments of a *chos ŋid bar do* or *ži khro bar do*.

First of all, I should like to place the association of the concepts *bar do* and *ži khro* in a slightly larger context. In the first paragraph of this section we discussed some exponents of the *bKa' rgyud pa-siddha*-traditions. We mentioned that their teachings concerning *bar do* are closely connected to certain forms of *riśa rluñ-yoga*, especially the practices focusing on *sgyu lus* and *'od gsal*, which developed in these lines of transmission, *yoga*-practices moreover, that gained much popularity in wider circles than *bKa' rgyud pa*-lineages alone. The concept of *ži khro*, on the other hand, is indissolubly associated with the generation stage of external visualisation (*bskyed rim*, *Skt. utpattikrama*), as may be sufficiently clear from the material presented in the previous paragraph.

So the conflux of these two concepts implies the combination of two influential practices, external visualisation and *riśa rluñ-yoga*. This gives us another clue as to the origin of the *chos ŋid bar do* or *ži khro bar do*. For, in the eighth *yāna* (the fifth tantric *yāna*)²³⁴, the *Anuyogayāna*, the generation stage, *bskyed rim*, is not combined with the regular perfection stage (*rdzogs rim*, *Skt. sampānnakrama* or occasionally *niśpānnakrama*) in which the visualised image is dissolved into emptiness, in *Anuyoga rdzogs, rim* involves practice of *riśa rluñ-yoga*²³⁵. *gNubs gsañ rgyas ye śes* (832-943)²³⁶ played a role in the introduction of *Anuyogatantra*-s in Tibet²³⁷, that is to

²³⁴ According to *rñiñ ma* classification, see Ehrhard (1990) pp.15f..

²³⁵ For more information on *Anuyoga*, and its texts see Dudjom Rinpoche ((1991), pp.284-289) and for the specific treatment by *Klön chen pa* see Tulku Thondup (1989), pp.38-41, see also pp.31f..

²³⁶ Snellgrove (1987): 772-885?, he is said to have lived up to a 113 years, Kapstein (1991): 832-943, Ehrhard (1990): 832-945.

say, in the time of *gNubs*, the ninth/ tenth century, it was still a largely unknown and rare doctrine. It is not unlikely that the inclusion of a full-fledged *zi khro-maṇḍala* in a context dominated by doctrines regarding experiences of 'od *gsal* (and light in general) and *sgyu lus* took place in a time that the connection of *bskyed rim* and *rtsa rlun-yoga* as extant in *Anuyoga* had become more familiar.

We should moreover not lose sight of the wider historical perspective, *rDzogs chen*-teachings in general -- which, as we can gather from the end of the first paragraph of this chapter, seem to provide the earliest *Buddhist* (and as we shall soon see "Bon")-sources on a *chos űid (/zi khro) bar do* -- start to emerge between the late eighth and the twelfth century, whilst it is only after the tenth/ eleventh century that *rDzogs chen* starts to establish itself as a tradition²³⁸ (which, by the way, holds true for most schools in Tibetan Buddhism).

When referring to some of the objections raised against the existence of an *antarābhava* in the *antarābhavakathā* of the *Kathāvatthu*, in the first paragraph of this chapter, we met with the "skandha-problem" (first referred to there in the context of a passage in the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*) an issue which, as was noted in that same paragraph, was apparently already considered problematic at the time of the *Kathāvatthu*. Solving the problem of a (relative) continuity of perception²³⁹ and hence the continuity of at least one *skandha* (i.e. perception *Skt. vijñāna* (Tib. *nam par űes pa*)) in an intermediate state after the "dissolution" of the *skandha-s* at death (however that was conceived of in various traditions) while at the same time avoiding any suspicion of an assumption of an unchanging and eternal entity or "soul" (for what better advocate for the transience of a person than its disintegration at death) apparently constituted an awkward theoretical dilemma; in fact, as the authors of the *Kathāvatthu* seem to have argued, the very assumption of an intermediate state helped to create such problems in the first place. On the other hand, the increased expertise regarding "death and dying" as recorded in works by *tantric Buddhist yogin-s*, for instance in the *sgyu lus*-, 'od *gsal*- and *bar do*- teachings in the *Nā ro'i chos drug*, might have exposed the weak spot to even more pressure, ultimately dictating the necessity of a more satisfactory theory and more elaborate description for that most problematic period, the supposed transitions taking place immediately after an assumed "dissolution" at death, the result of which could be the descriptions of a *chos űid (/zi khro) bar do*. The exact relation between theories regarding the re-arising/emerging of the *skandha-s*, an illusory body, and the *zi khro-maṇḍala* will be discussed in the following two chapters. In this chapter we shall concentrate on the overall structure of the theoretical framework and on evidence of the practice of *bskyed rim* and *rtsa rlun-yoga* in the earliest texts featuring a *chos űid (/zi khro) bar do*. Before starting this investigation we first need to examine some early "Bon"-material on the subject.

A probably quite old witness is the "Bon"-*rDzogs chen*-text *rDzogs pa chen po űan űun űñan rgyud las sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* with its commentary, the *rDzogs pa chen po űan űun űñan rgyud las sGron ma'i 'grel pa űi 'od rgyan*, which might date back even before the date of the compiler of the *űan űun űñan rgyud*, i.e. the eighth-century *Gu rub (snañ bűer lod po)*²⁴⁰, the scheme of three *bar do-s* pertaining to death

²³⁷ See Ehrhard, p.11, esp. n.38.

²³⁸ See Karmay (1988), pp.10-12 and passim, see also Ehrhard (1990), pp.2-17.

²³⁹ See Vetter (1988), p.44, pp.48ff., and p.54.

²⁴⁰ The (*rDzogs pa chen po űan űun űñan rgyud las*) *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* is, as the title indicates, to be found in the *rDzogs pa chen po űan űun űñan rgyud kyi gsun phod*, Dolanji (H.P.), India, 1980, pp.331-354 (used by Orofino for her edition) and Chandra (1964), pp.269-293, especially the

is already extant here. Though mention is made of a time of death (*'chi ba'i dus*²⁴¹) when describing the stages of "dissolution" that are usually associated with the process of dying, a *'chi kha'i bar do* is -- like in the works attributed to *bKa' rgyud pa-siddha-s* examined in the first paragraph of this chapter -- not explicitly mentioned²⁴². As was to be expected for this "Bon"-text the following *bar do* is not referred to as *chos ñid bar do* but as *bon ñid bar do*, or in full, *bon ñid 'od gsal (gyi) bar do*²⁴³. And lastly a *srid pa'i bar do*, here styled *srid pa las kyi bar do*²⁴⁴, is mentioned.

The passages concerning a *bon ñid bar do*²⁴⁵ are very revealing. The *bon ñid bar do*-teachings are said to be explained for the benefit of those who possess medium powers of intellect. For, as the *sGron ma drug* has it, the time of death is a border-line between suffering and joy and because the projecting power with regard to good and bad thought is great, this instruction should be given in accordance with the power of intellect and without error. There are furthermore said to be three ways of liberation that result from cognition, a superior, a middle and a lower one²⁴⁶ (it might be interesting to note here, that the teachings in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* are said to be intended mainly for those of medium intellect²⁴⁷). From the descriptions in this passage we can surmise that the *bon ñid bar do* is thought to commence at the point where the three appearances of sound, light and rays arise, after the outer appearances of fire, water, earth and wind have ceased²⁴⁸ and awareness is without support and naked, separated from the material body of flesh and blood. Because the mass of *karma*, *kleśa-s*, and delusive thoughts has come to an end, *ālayavijñāna* is said to be without the covering of obscurations. So the *bon ñid bar do* actually starts at the confrontation with the clear light of death (*'od gsal*, here referred to as *kun gzi*, *Skt. ālayavijñāna*²⁴⁹) -- hence the name *bon ñid 'od gsal gyi bar do* -- which in the *Kar glin ži khro*-cycles is considered to be a part of the *'chi kha'i bar do*. The *sGron ma drug*

sixth chapter. The Dolanji-edition of the Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre according to Orofino (1985, p.152) includes three hitherto unpublished chapters reproduced from a copy in the Samling Monastery in Dolpo, Nepal, the edition by Lokesh Chandra and Tenzin Namdak is a reproduction of block-prints from the Tibetan monastery of *sMan ri*. This text is said to be received by *Gu rub snañ bter lod po* from his teacher, the legendary *Ta pi hri za*, in a vision. *Gu rub snañ bter lod po* is said to have lived in the time of the reign of *Khri sron lde btsan*, i.e. the second half of the eighth century. The (*rDzogs pa chen po žaṅ žuñ śāṅ rgyud las*) *sGron ma'i 'grel pa ñi 'od rgyan*-commentary is also extant in the *rDzogs pa chen po žaṅ žuñ śāṅ rgyud kyi gsuñ phod*, Dolanji (H.P.), India, 1980, pp.355-417 and Chandra (1964), pp.293-355. The *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*, and its commentary *sGron ma'i 'grel pa ñi 'od rgyan* are translated in Orofino (1985), pp.60-66 and pp.67-84, and are edited on pp.127-130 and pp.131-139. The commentary is associated with the name of *Uri (bSod rñams rgyal mtshan)* (?-1133). In an appendix Orofino moreover presents another "Bon"-text, the *'Chi riags gsal ba'i sgron ma*, from the cycle *Bla med rdzogs pa chen po yañ rise kloñ chen gyi khrid* which treats of the signs of death (these are, amongst other things, mentioned in the *sGron ma drug*), this text is of lesser interest to us here. The *'Chi riags gsal ba'i sgron ma* is to be found in the *Bla med rdzogs pa chen po yañ rise kloñ chen gyi khrid*-cycle, Vol.I, pp.643-666, Dolanji 1973. Orofino translates this text on pp.85-103 and presents an edition on pp.140-150.

²⁴¹ See Orofino (1985), p.127, l.33, and commentary, *ibid.*, p.132, ll.19, 22, 26, 29, and 32

²⁴² Except for the reference to a *'chi ba'i srid pa* in the *mGur 'bun* in Kern 28.536.3, folio 167v, l.3.

²⁴³ See Orofino (1985), p.128, ll.27 and 37-39.

²⁴⁴ See Orofino (1985), p.128, ll.37ff.; p.135, l.1.

²⁴⁵ See p.128, ll.5-35 of the edition of the *sGron ma drug* in Orofino (1985), translated *ibid.* pp.63f., and the commentary on p.133, l.21 - p.134, l.33, translated on pp.71-74.

²⁴⁶ See Orofino (1985), p.127, ll.35-38.

²⁴⁷ See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, ll.7-11.

²⁴⁸ I.e. the process of dying is completed.

²⁴⁹ Especially the elaborations in the commentary make this very clear, even the simile for the recognition of the *kun gzi ('od gsal)* is the same, to wit, that of a son coming to his mother's lap (Orofino (1985), p.134, l.14, cf. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.13, ll.14f. and p.54, ll.10f.).

continues to describe the fate of someone of medium intellect, having been introduced to the essence of the uncovered *ālayaviññāna* and into *vipaśyanā*, by the force of their contemplation, the six forms of "higher knowledge" (*Skt. abhijñā*) and the six recollections (*Skt. anusmṛti*) will arise in him and he will achieve *buddha*-hood. These six forms of *abhijñā* and *anusmṛti* do not match very well with those mentioned for the *chos űid bar do* in the *űi zla kha sbyor*²⁵⁰. Interestingly enough we find no reference whatsoever in this early text to *żi khro*, only the three appearances of sound, light and rays are mentioned, a common locution which reappears rather frequently in other texts like for instance the *Chos űid bar do'i gsal 'debs*²⁵¹. Quite in contrast to the *űi zla kha sbyor* (or the *Chos űid bar do'i gsal 'debs*) the visionary aspect is not elaborated here at all. We will return to this point when discussing the *űi zla kha sbyor* in greater detail, that is, after the presentation of some more "Bon"-material.

Furthermore I was able to consult three large collections of "Bon"-*żi khro*-texts, to wit the *Hor bla mu khri yid bżin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi żi khro'i sgrub skor*, the *dBañ ldan żu rin lugs kyi żi khro'i sgrub skor*, and the *Żi khro sgrub skor*²⁵². The most interesting text found so far is a purportedly eighth-century *bar do thos grol*-text called *sűan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo* extant in the third collection mentioned. The text is attributed to the legendary *Dran pa'i nam mkha'* (eighth century) and is said to have been transmitted orally, that is to say, as a so-called *sűan brgyud*, to his son *Tshe dbań rig 'dzin* and ultimately to 'Gro mgon dam pa rań grol (1149-?). The text is also extant in the second collection, but under another title, *Żi khro bar do 'phrań grol gyi ihos grol las byań bag chags rań grol*, which, no wonder, is also associated with the name of (*sMan rgyal*) *Dam pa rań grol*. Even though the ascription to *Dran pa'i nam mkha'* (eighth century AD) in "Bon"-tradition is most probably equally doubtful as the attribution of the *Chos űid bar do'i gsal 'debs* to the legendary saint *Padmasambhava* in *rűiń ma* tradition, the first reliable date, the one of *Dam pa rań grol* (1149-?), is still one to two centuries earlier than the first reliable date for the *Chos űid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (i.e. the approximate date of the *gter ston Karma gliń pa* (fourteenth century AD)).

The *żi khro-mańḍala* starts, as in the *gSań ba'i sűiń po*, from a white ॐ, from which *gűen lha 'od dkar* emanates. The first pair of deities in the *mańḍala* is, again, *Kun tu bzań po* and *Kun tu bzań mo*, the other deities, however, are quite different from the ones we met in the *mańḍala*-s discussed in the previous paragraph. The number of wrathful deities is also different. The *sűan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Żi khro bar do 'phrań grol* announce, like the other texts discussed so far, forty-two peaceful deities but in the listing six more are mentioned, moreover eighty-six wrathful deities are announced (instead of the fifty-eight listed in the *Chos űid bar do'i gsal 'debs*) while eighty-nine deities are actually listed (plus one pair that is mentioned twice). Some of the groups of deities show some resemblance in kind and in the way they are associated with diverse categories, e.g. the five *Tathāgata*-s with consorts, the *Bodhisattva*-s with consorts and the *Buddha*-s of the six realms, but most of them do not match very well.

²⁵⁰ See Orofino (1985), p.120, ll.4-22.

²⁵¹ E.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.14, l.13 and p.16, l.19 - p.17, l.7.

²⁵² See Appendix I.

Peaceful Deities (*Zi ba'i Lha tshogs*)

Sanskrit name	Tibetan name	<i>sŋan rgyud thos grol</i>
A <i>Āḍibuddha</i> and consort	<i>Dañ po sañs rgyas</i>	
1 <i>Āḍibuddhasamāntabhadra</i>	<i>Dañ po sañs rgyas kun tu bzañ po</i>	<i>bDe gśegs rgyal kun tu bzañ po</i>
2 <i>Samāntabhadrī</i>	<i>Kun tu bzañ mo</i>	<i>Kun tu bzañ mo yum</i>
		<i>Khri bzī nam tii bde bar gśegs gsuñ gi lha</i>
		<i>Thugs rje byams pa yum</i>
B Five <i>Tathāgata</i> -s and consorts	<i>rGyal ba'i rigs lña</i> <i>bDe gśegs yum lña</i>	<i>Bde bar gśegs rigs lña</i> ' <i>Byuñ ba'i yum chen lña</i>
3 <i>Vairocana</i>	<i>rNam par snañ mādzaḍ</i>	<i>Kun snañ khyab pa bde bar gśegs thugs kyi lha</i>
8 <i>Akāśadhātvīśvarī</i>	<i>Nam mkha'i dbyiñs phyug ma</i>	<i>Nam mkha'i lha mo yum</i>
5 <i>Vajrasattva-Akṣobhya</i>	<i>rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa</i>	<i>gSal ba ran byuñ bde bar gśegs sku yi lha</i>
6 <i>Locanā</i>	<i>Sañs rgyas spyan ma</i>	<i>Sa yi lha mo yum</i>
7 <i>Ratnasambhava</i>	<i>Rin chen 'byuñ ldan</i>	<i>dGe lha gar phyug bde bar gśegs yon tan lha</i>
8 <i>Māmākī</i>	transliterated	<i>Rluñ gi lha mo yum</i>
9 <i>Amitābha</i>	<i>sNañ ba mtha' yas</i>	<i>Bye brag dños med bde gśegs gsuñ gi lha</i>
10 <i>Pāṇḍarā</i>	<i>Gos dkar mo</i>	<i>Me yi lha mo yum</i>
11 <i>Anoḡhasiddhi</i>	<i>Don yod grub pa</i>	<i>dGa' ba don grub bde bar gśegs phrin las lha</i>
12 <i>Samayātārā</i>	<i>Dam tshig grol ma</i>	<i>Chu yi lha mo yum</i>

Saṃskṛt name	Tibetan name	sNan rgyud thos grol
C Eight Mahābodhisattva-s and consorts	<i>Byañ chub sems dpa' chen po bgyad</i> <i>Byañ chub sems ma bgyad</i>	<i>Ye gšen sems dpa' bgyad</i> <i>Ye saṅs lcām bgyad</i>
13 Kṣitigarbha	<i>Sa yi stūi po</i>	<i>Ye śeś sems dpa' khri bži nam tin</i>
14 (Vajra)lāsyā	transliterated (rDo rje sgeg mo)	<i>Thugs rje byams ma yum</i>
15 Maitreya	<i>Byams pa</i>	<i>Ye gšen sems dpa' thañ ma me sgron</i>
16 (Vajra)puṣpā	translit. (rDo rje me tog ma)	<i>gZugs kyi lha mo yum</i>
17 Samantabhadra	<i>Kun tu bzah po</i>	<i>Ye gšen sems dpa' kha ste mu ya</i>
18 (Vajra)maḷā	translit. (rDo rje 'phreñ ba ma)	<i>sGra yi lha mo yum</i>
19 Ākāśagarbha	<i>Nam mkha'i stūi po</i>	<i>Ye gšen sems dpa' gtsug gšen rgyal ba</i>
20 (Vajra)dhūpā	translit. (rDo rje bdug spos ma)	<i>Dri yi lha mo yum</i>
21 Avalokiteśvara	<i>sPyan ras gzigs</i>	<i>Ye gšen sems dpa' snañ ba mdog can</i>
22 (Vajra)gītā	translit. (rDo rje sgra dbyaṅs ma)	<i>Ro yi lha mo yum</i>
23 Mañjuśrī	<i>'Jam dpal dbyaṅs</i>	<i>Ye gšen sems dpa' ba rab glin bži</i>
24 (Vajra)āloka	translit. (rDo rje mar me ma)	<i>Reg bya'i lha mo yum</i>
25 Nīvaraṇaviṣkambhin	<i>sGrib pa rnam par sel ba</i>	<i>Ye gšen sems dpa' khri rmañ rgyal ba</i>
26 (Vajra)gandhā	translit. (rDo rje dri chab ma)	<i>Yid kyi lha mo yum</i>
27 Vajrapāṇi	<i>Phyag na rdo rje</i>	<i>Ye gšen sems dpa' lde bo gsuñ chen</i>
28 (Vajra)ṅṛyā	translit. (Gar bsgyur ma)	<i>gTer 'dzin lha mo yum</i>

Sanskrit name Tibetan name

sñan rgyud thos grol

Ye gšen me tog ma bzil Me tog ma bzil

absent
absent
absent
absent

35 Lha mo dkar mo padma'i spyen can
36 Lha mo dmar mo 'bar ba'i ljags can
37 Lha mo ser mo thor tshugs can gyi sku
38 Lha mo sñon mo chu rkañ can gyi sku

D Four Gatekeepers and consorts sGo ba bzil sGo ma bzil

Ye ses sgo bzil?

Dus bzil rgyal mo bzil

29 Vijaya Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba
30 Vajrañkuṣṭi (rDo rje) lcags skyu ma
31 Yamāntaka (Khro bo) gñin rje gśed po
32 Vajrapāṣi (rDo rje) žags ma
33 Hayagrīva (Khro bo) rta mgrin rgyal po
34 Vajraśṛīkalā (rDo rje) lcags sgrog ma
35 Amṛtakundalin (Khro bo) bdud risti 'khyil ba
36 Vajraghañṭā (rDo rje) dril bu ma

39 Ye gšen sems dpa' bdud rtsi rgyal ba
40 Yum chen dpyid kyi rgyal mo = 35?
41 Ye gšen sems dpa' ži dal kun sñoms
42 Yum chen dbyar gyi rgyal mo = 36?
43 Ye gšen sems dpa' gtsug phud rgyal ba
44 Yum chen lha mo ston gyi rgyal mo = 37?
45 Ye gšen sems dpa' byams pa gdar gcod
46 Yum chen lha mo dgun gyi rgyal mo = 38?

E	Six Buddha-s of the bhavacakra	sPrul pa'i thub pa drug	'Dul ba gśen rab drug
37	(<i>Indral Śakra</i>)	<i>brGya byin</i>	29 <i>Ye gśen gtsug phud</i>
38	(<i>Vemacitra</i>)	<i>Thags bzai ris</i>	30 <i>lCe rgyal par ti</i>
39	<i>Śākyamuni</i>	<i>Śākya señ ge</i>	31 <i>gSañ ba 'dus pa</i>
40	(<i>Siṃha</i>)	<i>Señ ge rab brian</i>	32 <i>Ti sañs rañ ži</i>
41	(<i>Jvālāmukhī</i>)	<i>Kha 'bar ma</i>	33 <i>Mu cho ldem drug</i>
42	<i>Dharmarāja</i>	<i>Chos kyi rgyal po</i>	34 <i>gSañ ba nañ riñ</i>

Neutral, neither Peaceful nor Wrathful Deities

	Sanskṛt name	Tibetan name	sŊan rgyud thos grol
	Five Vidyādhara-s and consorts		
1		<i>Padma gar gyi dbaṅ phyug</i>	absent
2		consort	absent
3		<i>Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin</i>	absent
4		consort	absent
5		<i>Tshe la dbaṅ ba'i rig 'dzin</i>	absent
6		consort	absent
7		<i>Phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin</i>	absent
8		consort	absent
9		<i>Lhun gyi grub pa'i rig 'dzin</i>	absent
10		consort	absent

Wrathful Deities (*Khro bo'i Lha tshogs*)

	Sanskṛit name	Tibetan name	sñan rgyud thos grol
A	Ādītheruka and consort (usually absent)	(<i>Dan po he ru ka</i>)	
	Mahāśrītheruka Krodheśvarī	Che mchog he ru ka transliterated	(dBal gsas rīam pa khro rgyal mkha' 'gyiñ kha rñam mo bde 'gro yum Mi bzad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa rje Srid pa'i rgyal mo yum)
B	Five Heruka-s and Krodheśvarī-consorts	(<i>He ru ka lñā</i>)	Ye śes khro bo yab lña Yum chen khro mo lña
1	Buddhaheruka	transliterated	Thugs rje'i gso mchog khro rgyal mkha' 'gyiñ kha
2	Buddhakrodheśvarī	transliterated	mKha' la gdug mo yum
3	Vajraheruka	transliterated	'Gyur med g-yuñ druñ khro gsal mkha' 'gyiñ kha
4	Vajrakrodheśvarī	transliterated	Ne slas sra brian yum
5	Ramaheruka	transliterated	Gar chen sod de rñam gsal mkha' 'gyiñ kha
6	Ratnakrodheśvarī	transliterated	Li mun lan brgyad yum
7	Padmaheruka	transliterated	Nam mkha' mñiñ kñyab dbal gsas mkha' 'gyiñ kha
8	Padmakrodheśvarī	transliterated	Tshans (s)tan dbal mo yum
9	Karmaheruka	transliterated	Kham kham tshig tshig gtum gsas mkha' 'gyiñ kha
10	Karmakrodheśvarī	transliterated	Tiñ nam rgyal mo yum

	Sanskṛt name	Tibetan name	sŃan rgyud thos grol
C		<i>Kau'u rī/ Ke'u rī ma mo bgyad</i>	<i>Ha la Khro bo bgyad</i> <i>Yum chen khro mo bgyad</i>
11	<i>Gaurī</i>	transliterated	<i>gSal byed ha la gcod pa khra slag can</i>
12	<i>Caurī</i>	transliterated	<i>Li śag dmar mo yum</i>
13	<i>Pramohā</i>	transliterated	<i>Kun grags ha la sgra rgyal 'brug slag can</i>
14	<i>Vetālī</i>	transliterated	<i>Kha śag smug mo yum</i>
15	<i>Pukkastī</i>	transliterated	<i>Dri tshor ha la bya rgyal khyuñ slag can</i>
16	<i>Ghastmarī</i>	transliterated	<i>lGyum śag shon mo yum</i>
17	<i>Caṇḍālī</i>	transliterated	<i>Kun grol ha la bdud rtsi char slag can</i>
18	<i>Śmaśānī</i>	transliterated	<i>Re śag nag mo yum</i>
D		<i>yul gyi Phra men bgyad</i> * = transliterated Skt. name	
19	<i>Sihhamukhī</i>	* <i>smug nag señ mgo can</i>	<i>mNon sprul ha la g-yuñ druñ tshes slag can</i>
20	<i>Vyāghramukhī</i>	* <i>dmar mo stag mgo can</i>	<i>Tshu śag dkar mo yum</i>
21	<i>Srgalamukhī</i>	* <i>nag mo wa mgo can</i>	<i>sGra 'gyur ha la 'phrul gyi yig slag can</i>
22	<i>Śvamukhī</i>	* <i>mthitñ nag spyañ mgo can</i>	<i>rGya śag ser mo yum</i>
23	<i>Grāhramukhī</i>	* <i>dkar ser bya rgod mgo can</i>	<i>rDzu 'phrul ha la g-yo ba rlun slag can</i>
24	<i>Kākamukhī</i>	* <i>dmar nag bya'i mgo can</i>	<i>sKyel śag ljañ nag yum</i>
25	<i>Kākamukhī</i>	* <i>nag mo bya rog mgo can</i>	<i>'Gyur med ha la gsal ba 'od slag can</i>
26	<i>Utiakamukhī</i>	* <i>mthitñ nag 'ug pa'i mgo can</i>	<i>Se śag dkar ljañ yum</i>

E	Sanskrit name	Tibetan name	sNan rgyud thos grol
		<i>sGo ma bzī or</i> <i>sGo skyon khro mo bzī</i>	<i>sGo ba yab yum brgyad; rNam chen khro bo bzī</i> <i>Dus bzī rgyal mo bzī</i>
27		<i>rTa gdon dkar mo</i>	<i>dBal gyi rgyal po mi zad me la rgyun</i>
28		<i>Phag gdon ma ser mo</i>	<i>Khro gtum nag mo yum</i>
29		<i>Señ gdon ma dmar mo</i>	<i>sTobs chen mi zad stag 'gros rgyal po</i>
30		<i>sBrul gdon ma ljan</i>	<i>Glañ ra sñon mo yum</i> <i>sTobs chen mi skyin 'dan mi phud rgyal po</i> <i>Li bar dmar mo yum</i> <i>Khro rñam ha la stobs kyi rgyal po</i> <i>mKha' la 'khyag 'dor yum</i>
			<i>(Mi bzad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa rje</i> <i>Srid pa rgyal mo)</i>
		<i>dBañ phyug ma ñi šu rtsa brgyad</i>	<i>dBal mo ñi šu rtsa bdun</i>
31	<i>Rākṣasī</i>	<i>Srin mo smug nag g-yag mgo</i>	<i>Las mkhan sñon mo 'brug mgos chu srin lag pa g-yob</i>
32	<i>Brāhmanī</i>	<i>Tshañs pa dmar ser sbrul mgo</i>	<i>Las mkhan dmar ser 'broñ mgos ru skyogs 'dzin</i>
33	<i>Mahādevī</i>	<i>Lha chen ljan nag gzig mgo</i>	<i>Las mkhan bud med dkar mos ba dan 'phyar</i>
34	<i>Vaiṣṇavī</i>	<i>gTogs 'dod sñon mo sre moñ mgo</i>	<i>Las mkhan ljan nag sbrul mgos khyun gsog 'phyar^b</i>
35	<i>Kumārī</i>	<i>gZon nu dmar mo dred mgo</i>	<i>Las mkhan dkar mo rgod mgos ru mñshon 'phyar^c</i>
36	<i>Indrāñī</i>	<i>brGya byin dkar mo dom mgo</i>	<i>Las mkhan sa srin nag mos sbrul žags 'debs</i>

Sanskṛt name	Tibetan name	sNān rgyud thos grol
37 Vajrī	rDo rje ser mo pha wañ mgo	Las mkhan nag mo skyuñ mgos zañs spar gderñs ^d
38 Sāntī	Źi ba dmar mo chu srin mgo	Las mkhan nag mo dom mgos sbrul žags 'debs ^e
39 Amṛtā	bDud risi dmar mo sdig pa'i mgo	Las mkhan nag mo gdon' dguś bdud mda' 'phen
40 Candā	Źla ba dkar mo khra'i mgo	Las mkhan dkar mo señ mgos mtshal žags bsdog ^f
41 Dañdā	Be con ljañ nag wa'i mgo	Las mkhan ser mo glañ mgos sgyogs rdo 'phen
42 Rākṣasī	Srin mo ser nag stag gi mgo	Las mkhan bud med smug mos gru gu sdog ^g
43 Bhakṣiñī	Za ba ljañ nag bya rgod mgo	Las mkhan dmar mo dred mgos ral kyu 'phyar ^h
44 Rati	dGa' ba dmar mo ria'i mgo	Las mkhan sñon mo gzig mgos bñan žags bsdog ⁱ
45 Mahābālī	sTobs chen dkar mo khyuñ gi mgo	Las mkhan sñon mo gdon' drug chu srin g-yañ gži 'khur
46 Rākṣasī	Srin mo dmar mo khyi'i mgo	Las mkhan dmar nag spyañ mgos khra gśog 'phyar ^j
47 Abhilāṣī	'Dod pa dmar mo pu šud mgo	Las mkhan ser ljañ 'ug mgos srin bya spor
48 Vasurakṣā	Nor sruñ dmar ljañ ša ba'i mgo	Las mkhan dkar mo gžal gñis šel sgoñ 'thor
49 Vāyudevī	Rluñ lha sñon mo spyañ ki'i mgo	Las mkhan smug nag stag mgos dred kyi g-yañ gži 'khur ^k
50 Nārī	Mi mo dmar mo skyin gyi mgo	Las mkhan dmar mo khra mgos ral kyu 'phyar ^l
51 Vārāñī	Phag mo nag mo phag gi mgo	Las mkhan dmar mo mgo dguś byur thag skyot ^m
52 Vajrī	rDo rje dmar mo khwa twa'i mgo	Las mkhan dmar mo mgo dguś byur thag skyot ^m
53 Mahānāṣā	sNa chen ljañ nag glañ chen mgo	Las mkhan ser ljañ khyuñ mgos pho mo skuñ nas 'gyed
54 Varuñī	Chu lha sñon mo sbrul gyi mgo	Las mkhan skya bkra mgos dred lag 'phyar ⁿ
55 Mahākālī	rDo rje dkar mo khu byug mgo ma	Las mkhan sñon mo sbrul dguś byur thag skyot ^m
56 Cakalā?	rDo rje ser mo ra mgo ma	Las mkhan sñon mo sbrul dguś byur thag skyot ^m
57 Kumbhakarṇā	rDo rje dmar mo señ mgo ma	Las mkhan sñon mo sbrul dguś byur thag skyot ^m
58 Lambodarī	rDo rje ljañ nag sbrul mgo ma	Las mkhan sñon mo sbrul dguś byur thag skyot ^m

Samskṛt Tibetan sñan rgyud thos grol

Las mkhan sño ljan chu srin mgo can rluñ g-yub bsnams
 Las mkhan dmar nag phag mgos dru gu bsdog^o
 Las mkhan dmar nag lcags ral gśin lam 'dren

dBal gyi las mkhan gyad chen bcu po

Las mkhan dbal gyi mi phos^o bos^o cha ha la sgrog'
 Las mkhan duñ gyi mi thuñ dbal mduñ 'debs
 Las mkhan dbal g-yu yi mi thuñ mda' gzu 'genś^t
 Las mkhan gzañs kyi mi thuñ dgra sta 'phyar^{ab}
 Las mkhan lcags kyi mi thuñ ral gri 'phyar^a
 Las mkhan dbal stag khra bos mche sder brdar^{ab}
 Las mkhan dbal 'brug sñon pos 'ur sgra sgrog^{am}
 Las mkhan dbal g-yag dkar pos ru ze^{am} bsigs
 Las mkhan dbal khyuñ sñon po 'jum žin ldiñ
 Las mkhan khro chu l^{am} mi thuñ gtar tshan bsnams

sñan rgyud thos grol continued

dBal gyi las mkhan dmag dpon bcu po

Las mkhan^p glañ po'i mgo can^a brag ri 'debs
 Las mkhan mhiñ nag dom mgos ral gri 'phyar^t
 Las mkhan^t chu srin mgo can^t dbal mduñ gsoi^a
 Las mkhan dmar mo spyañ mgos khra gśog 'phyar^y
 Las mkhan skya bktra gsa' mgos bam ro za
 Las mkhan ser ljan khyuñ mgos sbrul žags 'debs
 Las mkhan mhiñ nag ria mgo^{sa} mduñ rin bsnams
 Las mkhan^{ee} phag rgod mgo can^{as} me dpuñ spor^{ee}
 Las mkhan^{ee} dred kyi mgo can^{ab} byad thag bsnamsⁱⁱ
 Las mkhan^{aa} stag gi mgo can^a dgra sa za

dBal gyi las mkhan rgyal chen sde bzī

Las mkhan mi dkar señ mgos ral gri 'phyar^{ep}
 Las mkhan^{en} phag rgod mgo canⁿ sbrul žags 'phen^a
 Las mkhan mi sñon 'brug mgos sta mo 'phyar
 Las mkhan mi nag dom mgos thog mda' 'phen

	'Ja' tshon zi khro only (Zi khro nes don siin po): Sanskrt name	Tibetan name	sNan rgyud thos grol
G	Five Jñānaḍākinī-s	Ye ses mkha' 'gro lña	
59	Buddhaḍākinī	rGyal yum rdo rje rnal 'byor chen mo	absent
60	Vajraḍākinī	rDo rje mkha' 'gro siñon mo	absent
61	Ratnaḍākinī	Rin chen mkha' 'gro ser mo	absent
62	Padmaḍākinī	Padma mkha' 'gro dmar mo	absent
63	Karmaḍākinī	Las kyi mkha' 'gro ljan mo	absent
H	'Ja' tshon zi khro only (Zi khro nes don siin po): Vajrakīla/(kumāra)heruka and consort	rDo rje phur bal gZon nu he ru ka	
64	Vajrakīla/(kumāra)heruka	bCom ldan rdo rje gZon nu	sent
65	consort	consort	absent

* The names appear in a phrase almost identical to the one used for the peaceful protectors, in both cases it does not seem to be completely accurate for describing the groups of deities mentioned.

^a IASWR-microfiche-edition of the *Ži khro bar do'i 'phrañ grol*, fiche number SB778.II.8: *phyar*.

^c SB778.II.8: *phyar*.

^d SB778.II.8: *gden*.

^e SB778.II.8: *'phen*.

^f SB778.II.8: *bsdag*.

^g SB778.II.8: *bsdag*.

^h SB778.II.8: *phyar*.

ⁱ SB778.II.8: *bsdag*.

^j SB778.II.8: *phyar*.

^k SB778.II.8: *Las mkhan smug nag stag mgos g-yañ bñi phyar*.

^l SB778.II.8: *lcags kyu phyar*.

^m SB778.II.8: *skyoñs*.

ⁿ SB778.II.8: *phyar*.

^o SB778.II.8: *bsdogs*.

^p SB778.II.8: *Las mkhan gser mo ...*

^q SB778.II.8: *mgos*.

^r SB778.II.8: *phyar*.

^s SB778.II.8: *Las mkhan sño ljañ ...*

^t SB778.II.8: *chu srin mgo*.

^u SB778.II.8: *bsor*.

^v SB778.II.8: *phyar*.

^w SB778.II.8: *pas*.

^x SB778.II.8: *bswo*.

^y SB778.II.8: *sgrogs*.

^z SB778.II.8: *'gen*.

^{aa} SB778.II.8: *ñiam mgos*.

^{bb} SB778.II.8: *phyar*.

^{cc} SB778.II.8: *Las mkhan dmar nag ...*

^{dd} SB778.II.8: *mgos*.

^{ee} SB778.II.8: *bsnam*.

^{ff} SB778.II.8: *phyar*.

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- ⁸⁸ SB778 II.8: *Las mkhan dmar mo ...*.
⁸⁹ SB778 II.8: *mgos*.
⁹⁰ SB778 II.8: *bsdogs*.
⁹¹ SB778 II.8: *bdar*.
⁹² SB778 II.8: *bkra gsal*.
⁹³ SB778 II.8: *mgos*.
⁹⁴ SB778 II.8: *sgrogs*.
⁹⁵ SB778 II.8: *zer*.
⁹⁶ SB778 II.8: *chus*.
⁹⁷ SB778 II.8: *phyar*.
⁹⁸ SB778 II.8: *Las mkhan mi dmar ...*.
⁹⁹ SB778 II.8: *phag mgos*.
¹⁰⁰ SB778 II.8: *sdebs*.



A *maṇḍala* of peaceful deities (Tibet, nineteenth century AD)



A mandala of wrathful deities (Tibet, nineteenth century AD)

A detailed discussion of the characteristics of and differences between this and other "Bon"-*maṇḍala*-s cannot be presented here. In any case, there are "Bon"-*maṇḍala*-s that differ from the one just described, see e.g. the *Ži khro'i phyag bsags nams chag skoñ byed na rag pañ bkoñ rgyal po (bskañ ba)*²⁵³, a text which might moreover be interesting for the development of the *Na rag doñ sprug(s)*-class of texts discussed above. Unfortunately time does not allow me to make use of it here.

The above comparison of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs/ Ži khro ñes don sñiñ po*- and the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol/ Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol-maṇḍala*-s does not yield enough common ground for establishing any sound hypothesis concerning a positive affiliation. The rest of the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol*- and *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol*-texts does not suggest any relation either, that is, except for the summarising prayers concluding each group of deities presented there.

The phrasing of these prayers (showing almost identical formulas at each occurrence) is remarkably similar to that of the *Bar do 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam*, a (more or less separate) text²⁵⁴ which is extant in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* where it likewise concludes the descriptions of pairs or sets of deities. On the following page a typical example of the prayer-formulas in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol/ Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol* is given.

Apart from some general resemblances in the *maṇḍala*-s, these prayers are the only similarities found so far. Therefore it might be worthwhile to take a closer look at them. Firstly we have to address the question of chronology. Was the *Bar do 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam* incorporated into the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* or is the *Bar do 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam* a later compilation from the verses appearing in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, which, together with similar prayers, for the ease of reference, was included in *Kar gliñ ži khro*-cycles as an "appendix"? As far as the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is concerned both hypotheses are possible, though the former option seems to be the most probable one, since the *Bar do 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam* contains several verses less than are contained in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (to wit, the verses pertaining to the five *Tathāgata*-s and consorts as a whole²⁵⁵), suggesting an adaptation, in this case extension, of the prayer to fit the needs of the arrangement in the *chos ñid bar do*-text. It is interesting to note here that the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol* also show signs of editing of the prayer cited. The descriptions of the guardians of the peaceful *maṇḍala* and wrathful *maṇḍala* are followed by formulas of prayer²⁵⁶ that are very similar. These formulas, however, do not match very well with either group of deities and are not construed in a consistent and customary manner.

²⁵³ According to the title-description by Karmay in his Catalogue of Bonpo Publications (1977, p.35, nr.47) this text was rediscovered by *dByil ston khyuñ rgod rtsal* (1175-?) from *La stod nar gyi se la*. The presentation of a "Bon"-set of deities by Lauf (1975, pp.178-187) mainly follows the *maṇḍala* described in this text.

²⁵⁴ See Appendix I.

²⁵⁵ See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.38, ll.5-10, this was brought to my attention by a comment in Thurman (1994, p.109).

²⁵⁶ See the edition in Appendix II, folios 645f. and 666f. of the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol* and folios 288f. and 308 of the *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol*.

Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs

ཀྱི་མ་

[by *samsāric* category(/ies)]

འཁོར་བར་འབྱམས་པའི་ཆོཾ

[Enlightened quality(/ies)]གསལ་

བའི་འོད་ལམ་ལུ། [By (group of)

deity(/ies)]ལམ་སྒྲ་བྱོངས། [By

consort(s)]བྱུ་ནས་སྐྱོར། བར་དོ་

འཛིགས་པའི་འཕྲང་ལས་བསྐལ་དུ་གསོལ།

ཡང་དག་ཇོ་པའི་སངས་རྒྱལ་ས་ཏུ་སྐྱོལ།

sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol and Zi khro bar do 'phrañ grol

pair/ group of deitiesའགྲོ་ཀུན་བྱོངས།

བར་དོ་འཛིག་པའི་སྤང་ལས་བསྐལ་དུ་

གསོལ། རིགས་དུག་བར་དོའི་གནས་ནས་

འདྲིན་དུ་གསོལ། འོག་མིན་བདེ་ཆེན་ཞིང་

དུ་བསྐལ་དུ་གསོལ། བོན་ཉིད་འོད་གསལ་

དབྱིངས་སྤྱ་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཤོག།

ཨ་ལྷོ་རྒྱ། བདག་སོགས་འདི་ནས་འཆོ་

འཕྲུལ་ལུས་བཞེས་དུས། བོན་ཉིད་འོད་

གསལ་སྤང་བ་འཆར་དུས་སྤྱ།

[By *samsāric* category(/ies)]

འཁོར་བར་འབྱམས་པའི་ཆོ།

[Enlightened quality(/ies)]གསལ་

བའི་འོད་ལམ་ལ། [By (group of)

deity(ies)]ལམ་སྒྲ་བྱོངས། [By

consort(s)]བྱུ་ནས་སྐྱོར་ཅིག། བར་དོ་

འཛིགས་པའི་འཕྲང་ལས་བསྐལ་དུ་གསོལ། བདེ་

ཆེན་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཞིང་དུ་བསྐལ་དུ་གསོལ།

ཀུན་དུ་དབྱིར་མེད་ས་ལ་བཞོད་དུ་གསོལ།

The construction for the guardians of the peaceful *maṇḍala* is obviously forced, especially the group-name of the male guardians, *Ye śeś sgo bži*, seems doubtful, first of all since it is mentioned as a group-name in the prayer of the *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol* only, and secondly because in all other instances, that is, also in the prayer-formula pertaining to the guardians of the wrathful *maṇḍala* this designation appears in an introductory formula, which in this location usually features more general categories with which the groups of deities are associated.

As indicated above, the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol* moreover disagree in the reading of the prayer. The *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol* features an unusual construction that has the supplicant begging one group of female deities to lead the way and another to protect him from behind; usually the male deities are, if available, asked to lead the way and the female deities are supplicated for backup-support. The *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol* exchanged the first group of female deities²⁵⁷ for a designation referring to the group of four male guardians, *Ye śeś sgo bži*, therewith awkwardly doubling the appearance of this group-name in the prayer-formula. Obviously the *Me tog ma bži* did not fit into the formula of the prayer in any decent manner and had to be introduced by force, the redactor(s) of the *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol*, took offence at this tour de force and polished the inconsistency of two groups of female deities away by ignoring the first group in the formula, but in the process of this cosmetic operation spoiled the introductory formula where the male deities had found mention already; thus inadvertently knocking over with the butt what was being corrected by the hand. The female consorts of the guardians mentioned for the wrathful *maṇḍala* deviate from their group-name mentioned in the prayer, the designation used actually pertains to the female consorts of the guardians in the peaceful *maṇḍala*.

The impression we get from this is that the redactor(s) of the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol* had to work with two groups of gate-keepers cum consorts including the four *Me tog ma bži*, while at the same time having only one prayer-formula available. This might imply that both the *maṇḍala* and the prayer pre-date the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol*- and the *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol*-texts proper; that is to say, they were known sources drawn upon that could not be remodelled too far beyond their traditional mould.

Though the *maṇḍala*-s used are apparently very different, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol/ Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol* seem to draw on the same or a similar prayer that bears much resemblance to the *Bar do 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam*.

Dargyay²⁵⁸ has suggested a strong connection of *Bar do thos grol*-teachings with "the vision of *Amitābha*" and "the *Sukhāvati*-prayer", she characterises the corresponding texts as forming a unity from the point of view of content and religious practice. An important clue for Dargyay is the fact that in the short biography of *Karma gliñ pa* in the *Zab mo'i gter dañ gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdo bsdus bkod pa rin chen bai du rya'i phreñ* by 'Jam mgon koñ sprül blo gros mha' yas (1813-1899)²⁵⁹ this *gter ston* is reported as a reincarnation of the translator *Klu'i rgyal mshan* of *Cog ro* who is said to have been a contemporary of king *Khri sroñ lde btsan* (742-797) and whose name is moreover connected with the translation

²⁵⁷ The *Me tog ma bži*, four of the six deities that spoil the desired number of forty-two peaceful deities and that the redactor(s) for some reason or other dared not omit.

²⁵⁸ See Dargyay (1977, pp.44-47, esp. pp.46f.), cited in agreement by Pommaret (1989, p.106).

²⁵⁹ Included in his *Rin chen gter mdzod* Vol.I, pp.291-759.

of (amongst others) the important *Āryāmitābhavyūhanāmamahāyānasūtra*²⁶⁰. This *Klu'i rgyal mtshan* of *Cog ro* is said to have been sent to India by king *Khri sroñ lde btsan* on behest of *Ñaṅ tiñ ñe 'dzin bzañ po* together with a party led by him and the translator *sKa ba dpal brtsegs* of the 'Bro-family in order to procure *rDzogs chen*-teachings by inviting *Vimalamitra* to Tibet²⁶¹. Though she admits to have no further evidence supporting this, she considers the possibility that the party of *Klu'i rgyal mtshan*, *sKa ba dpal brtsegs*, and *Vimalamitra* brought with them practices concerning *Amitābha* but also other practices that were concerned with the "*bar do thos grol*"-concept, which ultimately resulted in the *Bar do thos grol*-cycles. The latter part of her consideration does indeed seem to go far beyond the evidence available and I can, as for now, not share the enthusiasm that Pommaret apparently feels²⁶² regarding Dargyay's hypotheses. *Amitābha* definitely occupies a special position, see for instance the mention in the inceptive verse of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, but on the whole, the *Bar do thos grol*-texts I am familiar with do not strike me as so strongly centred on *Amitābha* or *Sukhāvati*, texts on '*pho ba* emphatically excepted, of course. The association of *Karma gliñ pa* with *Amitābha*- and *Sukhāvati*-cults, however, because of his traditional association with *Klu'i rgyal mtshan* seems to be well worth considering. If *Karma gliñ pa* did draw upon sources related with *Amidism* or in one way or other was influenced by these cults, I would expect the prayers discussed to be the most likely carrier for this influence. It seems to be worthwhile to look into *Amitābha*-centred literature for the origin of the prayers mentioned above.

Having examined some of the available "*Bon*"-sources, I should now like to continue discussing the presumably early *Buddhist* testimonies for a *chos ñid bar do* that were introduced earlier in this chapter, at the end of the first paragraph, especially with regard to evidence of (a combination) of *bskyed rim*- and *Anuyoga-rdzogs rim/ rtsa rluñ*-practices.

A most interesting reference is to be found in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* itself²⁶³:

²⁶⁰ See PIT, 5.110.3.4-127.3.5.

²⁶¹ See Dargyay (1977a), pp.57f..

²⁶² See Pommaret (1989), p.106.

²⁶³ Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.12, l.11 - p.13, l.1, N.B. *ka*=X.12.2,187.2,19.2; *khu*=XI.10 (=Kern 28.452.4), *ña*=XXVI.235, *cu*=XIV.1229=1233, see Appendix I.

ཡང་གདམས་ངག་གདབ་སྟེ། དེ་ལ་³⁴⁰ རྩོགས་ཟིམ་པ་དང་བསྐྱེད་ཟིམ་པ་གཉིས་སྟེ།³⁴¹
 རྩོགས་ཟིམ་པ་ཡིན་ན་³⁴² མིང་ནས་ལན་གསུམ་འབོད་ལ། གང་གི་འོད་གསལ་ངོ་སྤྱོད་དེ་
 ཀ་³⁴³ བསྐྱར་ལ་³⁴⁴ གདབ་བོ། བསྐྱེད་ཟིམ་པ་ཡིན་ན་ཁོ་རང་³⁴⁵ གི་ལྟ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེའི་སྒྲུལ་
 ཁོག་དང་³⁴⁶ མངོན་རྟོགས་བཞག་སྟེ། གྱེ་རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ། བྱེད་རང་གི་ཡི་དམ་འདི་སྒྲུལ་
 ཤིག་ཟེ། མ་ཡིངས་ཤིག་ཟེ།³⁴⁷ འདུན་པ་དྲག་པོ་ཡི་དམ་ལ་གཏོད་ཤིག་ཟེ། སྤང་ལ་རང་བཞིན་
 མེད་པ་ཚུ་ནང་གི་རྒྱ་བ་ལྟ་ར་སྒྲུལ་ཤིག་ཟེ།³⁴⁸ གདོས་བཅས་ཅན་³⁴⁹ དུ་མ་སྒྲུལ་ཤིག་ཟེ།³⁵⁰
 ཅེས་གསལ་གདབ་བོ།³⁵¹ རྒྱུ་བོ་ཐ་མལ་པ་ཡིན་ན་³⁵² རྩོ་བོ། །ཀ་༡༥། ཐུགས་རྩི་ཆེན་པོ་
 སྒྲུལ་ཤིག་ཟེ།³⁵³ ཅེས་³⁵⁴ རྩོ་སྤྱོད་དོ།

³⁴⁰ ཁ་དང་ཅ། དེ་ལ་ཡང་

³⁴¹ འདི་མར་ངར་ཡང། མངོན་རྟོགས་བཞག་སྟེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བྱི་བར་དུང་འདི་མར་གཅིག་པོ་མིན།

³⁴² ཁ་དང་ཅ། ན་ནི་

³⁴³ ཀ་ནི། ཁ་དང་ཅར་མེད།

³⁴⁴ ཁ་དང་ཅ། རྒྱར་ནས་

³⁴⁵ ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཁོང་རང་

³⁴⁶ ཁ་དང་ཅ། དང་བསྐྱེད་ནས་

³⁴⁷ ཁ་དང་ཅ། རྩོགས་ཏེ། རྩོགས་ཟིམ་པ་ཡིན་ན་མིང་ནས་ལན་གསུམ་འབོད་ལ། གང་གི་འོད་གསལ་ངོ་སྤྱོད་ དེ་ཀ་
 བསྐྱར་ལ་གདབ་བོ། བསྐྱེད་ཟིམ་པ་ཡིན་ན་ཁོ་རང་གི་ལྟ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེའི་སྒྲུལ་ཁོག་དང་མངོན་རྟོགས་བཞག་སྟེ། རི། ངམ། སྤང་
 ཡང་རྩོགས་ཟིམ་པ་ལ་གསལ་འདིབས་ལྟ་མ་ཉིད་རྒྱར་ནས་གདབ། བསྐྱེད་ཟིམ་པ་ཡིན་ན་ཁོ་རང་གི་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྟ་གང་ཡིན་དེའི་
 མངོན་རྟོགས་པ་ནས་སྒྲུལ་དུ་འདྲེ། འདི་མར་ཆོ་འདས་ཀྱི་མིང་ནས་འབོད་ལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བྱི་བར་དུང་ར་མེད།

³⁴⁸ ཁ་དང་ཅ། བསྒྲུལ་ཤིག་ཟེ།

³⁴⁹ ཁ། །

³⁵⁰ ཁ་དང་ཅ། བསྒྲུལ་ཤིག་ཟེ།

³⁵¹ ཁ་དང་ཅ། གདོས་པ་ཅན་

³⁵² ཁ་དང་ཅ། བསྒྲུལ་ཤིག་ཟེ།

³⁵³ ཁ་དང་ཅ། གསལ་གདབ་པོ།

³⁵⁴ ཁ་དང་ཅ།

³⁵⁵ ཁ་དང་ཅ། བསྒྲུལ་ཤིག་ཟེ།

³⁵⁶ ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཞེས་

When the adept regains consciousness (after experiencing the (first) clear light of death) in the *chos ñid bar do*, the teaching given to him depends on whether he practised *bskyed rim* or *rdzogs rim*. This instruction implies that *bskyed rim* and *rdzogs rim* are not intended here as the two phases in external visualisation-practice, to wit, projecting and dissolving the visualisation, but refer to two distinct practices, the first of which is external visualisation-practice, the second of which, according to the text, is associated with an introduction into the experience of the clear light. I should like to refer here to work of Ehrhard (1990)²⁹¹, where we can read that the term *bskyed pa'i tshul* is used in the *Man ñag lta ba'i phreñ ba*, which is attributed to *Padmasambhava*, as a designation for *Mahāyoga* and *rdzogs pa'i tshul* as a designation for *Anuyoga*. The reference to *rdzogs rim pa-s* in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is hence most probably a reference to practitioners of *Anuyoga*. That is to say that the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* has knowledge of an *Anuyogayāna* and addresses itself explicitly to these practitioners as a more advanced category, the distinction moreover implies that latter group was considered to be closer to "the centre of the *maṇḍala*".

Concluding the description of the peaceful deities, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* gives some general information regarding the appearance of the deities²⁹² (which reads like an instruction for visualisation). It is significant that this description is virtually identical with one extant in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*²⁹³. There is moreover some similarity in content in the part immediately following this. Not to such a degree as to suggest any borrowing, but enough to indicate that both texts are here in their own way presenting a similar tradition²⁹⁴, that is to say, draw on the same sources. The rest of the descriptions, however, do not bear much resemblance. The shared locution is moreover the only substantial reference to peaceful deities in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*. Thus, in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, the treatment of the five wisdom lights in the part following this phrase is associated with the five *Tathāgata-s*, but in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* it is presented in terms of geometrical shapes of light and colour only. The references to technical terminology pertaining to stages and teaching-devices/-similes with regard to esoteric *rdzogs chen/(rtsa rlun-)*yoga-practice (a detailed description of which cannot be given here) are more numerous and seem to be more systematically and comprehensively presented in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* than in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

Summarising these facts we get a picture in which neither the "Bon"-*bar do thos grol*-texts -- the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol* -- nor the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, nor the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* borrowed from each other on a large scale. The "Bon"-*bar do thos grol*-texts and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* share a similar prayer that was probably incorporated from a familiar source. The *Ñi zla kha sbyor* and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* share a description/ visualisation-instruction for the peaceful deities and several references to more advanced kinds of *Buddhist yoga*-practice pertaining to amongst others the *Anuyogayāna*. That is to say, evidence points to shared sources, prayer(s), instructions for visualisation as well as more advanced types of *Buddhist yoga* rather than to direct copying or even wholesale import.

²⁹¹ See Ehrhard (1990), pp.8-17, esp. p.11.

²⁹² Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.34, ll.12-20.

²⁹³ Orofino (1985), p.118, ll.17-26.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.34, ll.20 - p.37, l.4, and Orofino (1985), p.118, l.21 - p.119, l.26.

Now I should like to take a closer look at the general architecture of descriptions of the period immediately following the "dissolution" of the *skandha-s* at death and at the nature of the references to *rtsa rluñ-yoga* in the *bar do*-literature discussed so far, especially with regard to descriptions of the experience of the clear light of death and the arising of an illusory body "shortly" after.

The description of the *bar do* of dying, the '*chi kha'i bar do*', in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, is largely presented in terms of Tibetan medicine and *tantric Buddhist yoga*, referring to processes of subtle and gross disintegration involving breath (*phyi/ nan dbugs*), *nāḍī*, *prāṇa*, the five elements and the like, this is a general tendency in most of the descriptions of a '*chi kha'i bar do*' known to me²⁸⁵. When the "dissolution" of all the aspects of personal existence is completed and the experience of the clear light of death has been unveiled, a subtle mental body of habitual tendencies (*(bag chags) yid kyi lus*) is said to arise. That is to say, due to habitual tendencies a body consisting of those very constituents of the personality (*skandha-s*) – the "disintegration" of which had been previously described! – is said to be projected or imagined. This is exactly the sore spot in *bar do*-theory that is referred to above. The arising of a mental body is a general feature in conceptualisations of a state that was thought not to be experienced under normal psycho-physical conditions, like the *chos ñid* and *srid pa'i bar do-s* (e.g. in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*) or the *rmi lam bar do* and certain meditative states as for instance described in the *Nā ro'i chos drug*. Perception in such a state seemed to demand a faculty fit to perceive. It is at this point in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* that the descriptions of the peaceful and wrathful deities start. This construction leads to a most remarkable inconsistency, however, since, as we shall demonstrate in the next chapter, the perception of the five *Tathāgata-s* in the peaceful *maṇḍala* also refers to the arising of these five *skandha-s* that are involved in the perception thereof (and to the possibility of the realisation of the five *buddhajñāna-s* by recognising these constituents as such). The need to have a faculty of perception present before the arising of that faculty of perception can be perceived, was apparently more urgent than the inconsistency resulting from this manoeuvre. What is extremely interesting is that the arising of a mental body, which was apparently considered to belong to the "basic gear" of a *bar do*, is here, unlike in the preceding process of disintegration, indicated by means of a *maṇḍala* of deities and not in terms of *nāḍī*, *prāṇa*, etc..

This composition suggests hard labour on the side of the redactor(s), I have the impression that we are actually looking here at the seams and stitches of the patchwork, loose ends included, that ultimately became the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. After the elaborate and quite sophisticated description (in terms of *rtsa, rluñ*, etc.) of the process of disintegration some additional theory and more elaborate description was needed to make the transition from a bare experience of the clear light of death (strictly speaking, a completely bare "experience" of the clear light of death would amount to release) to a complete mental body acceptable, while at the other hand the reference to the sudden appearance of a mental body as a mandatory requisite for a non-physical *bar do*-state could not be discarded so easily, each (consecutive) *bar do*-state required a death and a birth of its own (a fact that we encountered already in some of the later *abhidharma*-literature discussed in the first paragraph of this chapter). The fact that the redactor(s) resorted to a *ži khro-maṇḍala*

²⁸⁵ A very clear example of this is to be found in a late and highly systematised presentation, mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, the *gŽi sku gsum gyi mam bzag rab gsal sgron me žes bya ha bzugs so* (XL.0696), composed by the eighteenth-century *dGe lugs pa*-scholar *dByaṅs can dga' ba'i blo gros* or *A kya yons 'dzin*.

presents us, certainly given the evidence of the several kinds of *yoga*-practice referred to above, with a clue as to their doctrinal back-ground. Considering the awkwardness of the dilemma and the possibilities that *Buddhist* theory offered at that time to tackle such a problem methinks that some commiseration with the plight of the redactor(s) seems appropriate. Apparently, he/they managed to smoothen out the unevenness by covering up the gap between no-body and some-body with familiar and related theories and descriptions, thus making the whole story appear somewhat more familiar and thus maybe more acceptable, yet while doing so he/they did not actually offer a more consistent theory.

Another interesting point is the description of the four wisdom-lights appearing together (since the fifth wisdom, the wisdom of all-accomplishing action, associated with the green wisdom-light, is not yet perfected, the green light reportedly does not yet appear). This is the so-called secret path of *Vajrasattva* (*rdo rje sems dpa'i khon señ gi lam zes bya'o*), which as mentioned above, appears in both the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*²⁸⁶ and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*²⁸⁷. The colours of the wisdom-lights attributed to the first two *Tathāgata*-s are reversed²⁸⁸. The colours used are those of their bodies, not the colours of the light they appear from. *Vairocana*, whose body of white colour was in the description of the *maṇḍala* in the preceding part of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* said to appear from blue light, is here associated with the white wisdom-light, while *Vajrasattva*, whose body of blue colour was in the preceding part of the text said to emerge from white light, is here associated with wisdom-light of the colour blue. Texts are extant in which the colours blue and white are also reversed in the descriptions of the five *Tathāgata*-s²⁸⁹. The attribution of the colours of the wisdom-lights in the description of the secret path of *Vajrasattva* might well be more original than that of the colours of the *Tathāgata*-s in the peaceful *maṇḍala*, the harmonisation of the colours in the peaceful *maṇḍala* with those of the wisdom-lights is most probably due to later editing. This suggests that the *maṇḍala* was introduced into the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* at a later point and that the sources the *Ñi zla kha*

²⁸⁶ See Orofino (1985), p.119, ll.3-22.

²⁸⁷ See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.34, l.20 - p.36, l.15

²⁸⁸ A discrepancy which was, again, brought to my attention by an annotation in Thunman (1990), p.143.

²⁸⁹ See e.g. XXVI.235 = text *na* (see Appendix I), especially the lengthy note regarding this inconsistent attribution of colours which appears at the end of the description of *Vairocana* and his consort, p.261, l.5 - p.263, l.1:

ཡི་ཤེས་ཏྲ་དྲིག་དཀར་པོ།དང་སང་གི་ཞི་ཁྱོད་གྲོང་ས་པ་རང་གྲུ་གྱི་དཔེ་བྱ་ན་རྣམས་སུ་འོད་མཐིང་གར་བཤར་འདུག་
 པ་ཡི་གེ་མར་དག་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །།ང་༣༥༥། སྤྱིར་རྣོ་སེམས་སུ་མེ་བསྐྱོད་པ་མཐིང་ག་དབྱས་དང་། རྣམ་སྤྱང་དཀར་པོ་གར་དུ་
 བཞུགས་པའི་དབང་དུ་བཞུགས་ནས་ཞི་སྤང་རྣམ་པར་དག་ཅིང་རྣམ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡུང་པོ་བཞུགས་འགྱུར་བའི་ཆས་དབྱིངས་ཡི་ཤེས་མི་
 བསྐྱོད་པ་དང་བྱུས། གནི་ཚུག་རྣམ་པར་དག་ཅིང་། གཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཡུང་པོ་བཞུགས་འགྱུར་བའི་མེ་འོད་ཡི་ཤེས་རྣམ་སྤྱང་དང་བྱུར་
 བའི་ལུགས་གཅིག་དང་། རྣམ་སྤྱང་དཀར་པོ་དབྱས། རྣོ་སེམས་སྤྱིན་པོ་གར་དུ་བཞོད་པའི་ལུགས་གནི་ས་ལས་འདི་ཕྱི་མའི་
 དབང་དུ་བཞུགས་པས་འོད་ཀྱང་རང་དྲིག་དཀར་པོར་བྱེད་དགོས་ལ། འོག་དུ་ཡི་ཤེས་བཞི་བྱེད་པའི་སྤྱང་བ་འཆར་དུས། རྣམ་སྤྱང་
 གི་བྱུགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཆས་དབྱིངས་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་འོད་རྣམས་དང་འོད་ཐིག་དཀར་པོ་དང་། རྣོ་སེམས་ཀྱི་བྱུགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཆས་འོད་ལྷ་
 བའི་ཡི་ཤེས་མཐིང་ལ་གསལ་བའི་རྣམ་བའི་སྤྱང་དུ། དེ་འདྲ་བའི་འོད་ཐིག་འཆར་བར་ཡང་གསལ་ས་པས་སྟོ། །ལུགས་འདི་
 གནི་ཚུག་དང་རྣམ་ །།ང་༣༥༥། ཤེས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་རྣམ་སྤྱང་དང་། ཞི་སྤང་དང་གཞུགས་ཡུང་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་ཡི་བསྐྱོད་པར་
 འཛོག་པའི་ལུགས་སྟོ།

sbyor and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* drew upon probably only featured the above-mentioned general reference to the visualisation of peaceful deities that both texts share. It is not unlikely that the practice not only to refer to deities, but to actually include a description of a *maṇḍala* like in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and in the "Bon"-*bar do thos grol*-texts, the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol*, was imported from the popular class of *Na rag don sprug(s)*-like confession- and expiation-texts and had not been adapted to the colour-scheme of the co-arising of the four wisdom-lights imported from another source, though there is at the moment no solid proof for this hypothesis.

As indicated above this is not the right opportunity to track down, identify and explain the many allusions to esoteric *rDzogs chen*-practices especially in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* and to a lesser degree the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. The *Ñi zla kha sbyor* might draw on the *Rig pa rañ śar chen po'i rgyud* here, which *tantra* is actually referred to in an interpolation²⁹⁰, but unfortunately the volume of the *rñiñ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*-edition²⁹¹ in which the *Rañ śar* is included is not available to me at the moment.

There are moreover many more interesting (and sometimes contradictory) points in the "architecture" of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* that deserve to be investigated further. Some work has been done already in the study of Back (1979), for instance with regard to the exact manner of release as related to the *buddhakāya-s* and the interesting double appearance of *Yama Dharmarāja* in the *chos ñid bar do* and the *srid pa bar do*.

Regarding the above evidence it seems likely that the early *chos ñid bar do/ ži khro bar do*-texts discussed are the result of a compilation of information gathered from different sources, part of which is shared by some of them and part of which is unique. The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* thus comprises:

- a prayer (shared with the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol*) probably to be identified as, or alike to, the *Bar do 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam* (a possible *Amidist* provenance should be investigated);
- a reference to the peaceful *maṇḍala* (shared with the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*) from an as yet unknown *Mahāyoga*-source;
- references to certain *rDzogs chen*-practices (slightly less elaborate and systematic than similar references in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*) from an unknown *rDzogs chen*-source (the *Rig pa rañ śar* should be investigated as one of the possible candidates);
- and a *žī khro-maṇḍala* imported from a source differing from the one mentioned above (second point), probably a text from the *Na rag don sprug(s)*-class of confession and expiation-texts.

With these considerations I should like to conclude this historical survey and proceed with the next chapter, an examination of traditional "interpretations" of *žī khro* extant in the texts that were introduced in the second paragraph of this chapter.

²⁹⁰ See Orofino, (1985), p.120, ll.19f..

²⁹¹ Vol.I, pp.389-855, of the three-volume edition made from the *A 'dzom 'brug pa*-blocks.

2 Traditional "Interpretations" of *Āi khro-Maṇḍala-s*

In this chapter we shall examine some traditional "interpretations" offered for the (*kar glin*) *āi khro* as they are extant in the *Chos ṅid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. This will be done by taking stock of the categories associated with the individual deities. But because only a few deities are "well documented" in the *Chos ṅid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, additional information has to be extracted from the *maṇḍala* extant in the *Āi khro sgyu 'phrul*, which is, generally speaking, especially for the less familiar deities, more explicit on the point of interpretation. The late *Āi khro ṅes don sṅiṅ po*, which offers the most bountiful and exhaustive treatment of the subject known to me, will, with the necessary caution of course, be used as further reference-material to fill in the gaps. In spite of its late date, which allows the *Āi khro ṅes don sṅiṅ po* to know more than the *Chos ṅid bar do'i gsal 'debs* did, its descriptions are remarkably consistent (i.e. conservative), at least for the (one-hundred and ten) deities both texts share. A general comparison of the "interpretations" thus gathered to those that can be inferred from the categories associated with the deities listed in the *gSaṅ ba'i sṅiṅ po* and the "Bon"-texts, the *sṅan rgyud bar do thos grol* and *Āi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*, will also be attempted here. A more in-depth discussion of these diverging *maṇḍala-s*, however, is not feasible within the limits of this study.

Much work in classifying categories associated with *āi khro* has been done already by Lauf (1975). He made use of several texts, which are listed in part VIII of his study, *Literaturverzeichnis*²⁹²; the *Āi khro ṅes don sṅiṅ po* seems to have been one of his more important sources. Considering the intended public of his publication, references to Tibetan sources were kept limited, yet he seems to have been very precise in extracting material from the various sources indicated. The data presented by him are, as far as I have been able to check, reliable and accurate, so much so, that it does not seem to be necessary to comb all the blueberry-bushes again, just in case Lauf might have missed a pale or undersized berry. The presentation of this material seems to be only instrumental in his study, the main goals being a psychological interpretation of the evidence found, and a comparison with related traditions in different cultures. The potential reader of his study is left to judge for him or herself how well Lauf succeeded in doing so and whether he or she finds his particular approach clarifying or not. For the present investigation I am mainly concerned with the concrete data which Lauf brought together, for that work alone I think I owe him a debt of gratitude. So thanks to the efforts of Lauf, it is not necessary to sum up all the information concerning each and every deity. Therefore I shall first present a conspectus of the several groups of *Buddhist* deities and their collective associations/ "interpretations" that can be found in Lauf (1975). Because the conspectus is arranged for groups of deities, all individual iconographical details of the deities, their colour, garments, attributes, the direction they appear from, etc. had to be omitted. These details can, however, usually be found in Lauf's study. After this, the full data for a few more or less typical and well documented examples of traditional "interpretations" of some of the deities, to wit, the five peaceful emanations of the *Tathāgata-s* and their consorts, will be given. Finally, based on the information gathered thus, some general considerations regarding the function of the *āi khro-maṇḍala* will be offered.

²⁹² Esp. Lauf (1975), pp.269f..

First of all, a general conspectus of what is present in Lauf (1975):

42 Peaceful deities, associated with the *jñānacakra* (Tib. *ye śes kyi 'khor lo* or *thugs kyi 'khor lo*)

<i>Samantabhadra</i> (Tib. <i>Kun tu bzah po</i>) with Consort <i>Samantabhadri</i> (Tib. <i>Kun tu bzah mo</i>)	awareness (<i>rig pa</i>) <i>dharmatā</i>
5 <i>Tathāgata</i> -s (Tib. <i>rGyal ba'i rigs lha</i>)	5 <i>skandha</i> -s 5 <i>buddhajñāna</i> -s (5 <i>kleśa</i> -s) 5 <i>cakra</i> -s as areas of karmic activity (<i>Skt. karmamaṇḍala</i>)
5 Consorts (Tib. <i>bDe gśegs yum lha</i>)	5 elements
8 <i>Mahābodhiśattva</i> -s (Tib. <i>Byañ chub sems dpa' chen po brgyad</i>)	8 forms of perception (<i>Skt. vijñāna</i> , Tib. <i>rnam śes brgyad</i>)
8 Consorts (Tib. <i>Byañ chub sems ma brgyad</i>)	8 realms of perception (<i>Skt. viśaya</i> , Tib. <i>rnam śes yul brgyad</i>)
6 <i>Buddha</i> -s of the <i>bhavacakra</i> (Tib. <i>sprul pa'i thub pa drug</i>)	6 <i>loka</i> -s 6 <i>kleśa</i> -s 6 perfections (<i>Skt. pāramitā</i> , Tib. <i>pha rol du phyin pa drug</i>) 6 <i>cakra</i> -s
4 Gatekeepers (Tib. <i>sGo ba bzī</i>) with 4 Consorts (Tib. <i>sGo ma bzī</i>) (somewhat wrathful)	4 limitless states (<i>Skt. catur-</i> <i>apramāṇa</i> , Tib. <i>tshad med bzī</i>) 4 theses on eternity and annihilation (Tib. <i>rtag chad mu bzī</i>) 4 of the <i>skandha</i> -s

10 Neutral, neither peaceful nor wrathful deities associated with the *sambhogacakra* (Tib. *loñs spyod kyi 'khor lo*)

5 <i>Vidyādhara</i> -s (Tib. <i>Rig 'dzin lha</i>) with 5 Consorts	5 <i>cakra</i> -s as realms of karmic activity (<i>Skt. karmamaṇḍala</i>)
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58 Wrathful deities, associated with the *mahāsukhacakra* (Tib. *bde chen gyi 'khor lo*)

(Mahāśrīheruka (Tib. <i>mChe mchog heruka</i>) with Consort <i>Krodhīśvarī</i> (Tib. transliterated), generally absent)	
5 Heruka-manifestations of the <i>Tathāgata-s</i> (Tib. <i>Khrag 'thuñ yab lña</i>)	5 <i>kleśa-s</i>
5 Consorts (Tib. <i>dByiñs phyug yum lña</i>)	5 elements
8 <i>Ke'u ri ma-s</i>	8 forms of perception (Skt. <i>viññāna</i> , Tib. <i>rnam śes brgyad</i>)
8 <i>'Phra men ma-s</i>	8 realms of perception (Skt. <i>viśaya</i> , Tib. <i>rnam śes yul brgyad</i>)
4 Female Gatekeepers (Tib. <i>sGo ma bzī</i> or <i>sGo skyoñ khro mo bzī</i>)	4 limitless states (Skt. <i>catur-apramāṇa</i> , Tib. <i>tshad med bzī</i>)
	4 theses concerning eternity and annihilation (Tib. <i>riag chad mu bzī</i>)
	4 leaders of the four groups of six powerful animal-headed female <i>Yoginī-s</i>
28 Powerful animal-headed female <i>Yoginī-s</i> (Tib. <i>dBañ phyug rnal 'byor ma ñer brgyad</i>) (including 4 female Gatekeepers)	karmically conditioned tendencies and concepts

Among some sects the *maṇḍala* is extended with two groups of 5 and 2 deities, associated with the *nirmāṇacakra* (Tib. *lte ba'i l sprul pa'i 'khor lo*) and *sukhapālacakra* (Tib. *bde skyoñ gi 'khor lo*) respectively

Associated with the <i>nirmāṇacakra</i> :	
5 <i>Jñānādākinī-s</i> (Tib. <i>Ye śes mkha' 'gro ma bzī</i>)	
Associated with the <i>sukhapālacakra</i> :	
Vajrakīla or Vajrakumārahērūka with Consort	(sexual) desire (Skt. <i>kāma</i> , Tib. <i>'dod pa</i>) (3) <i>kleśa-s</i>

Among these groups of deities we will now more closely examine the five *Tathāgata-s* of the peaceful *maṇḍala* together with their female consorts. In the five tables on the following pages, attributes and diverse other categories are listed that are associated with these deities in successively the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, the *Ṣi khro sgyu 'phrul*, the *Ṣi khro ñes don sñiñ po*, the *gSañ ba'i sñiñ po* (and one of its commentaries (comm.2²⁹³)), and lastly also in the "Bon"-text, the *sñan rgyud bar do thos grol* and *Ṣi khro bar do 'phrañ grol*.

²⁹³ See paragraph 1.2, most of the information that can be gathered from this commentary is said to be extracted from the *dPal gsañ ba'i 'dus pa* (see XX.83.32.3.7).

Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs

Five Tathāgata-s and consorts	Buddhiakṣetra (Zhi kham)	Quarler (Phyogs)	Colour light	Colour body	Throne (Khrī' gDan)	Mudrā (Phyag rgya)	Skandha/ Bhāva (Phun pa/ 'Byun ba)	Samsāric category	Enlightened quality/ colour	Juxtaposed realm/ colour
<i>rNam par smad mīzad</i>	<i>Thig le'i brdal ba</i>	centre	blue	white	<i>señ ge'i khri</i>	<i>'khor lo risibz brgyad</i>	<i>rnam par śeś/</i>	<i>gñi mug</i>	<i>chos kyi dbyñs kyi ye śeś/</i> <i>mñiñ ga</i>	<i>lhal</i> <i>dkar po</i>
<i>Nam mkha'i dbyñs phyug ma</i>	ditto	ditto	ditto	-	ditto		<i>nam mkho' 'thams cād'</i>			
<i>rDo rje sems dpa'</i> <i>Mi bskyod pa</i> <i>Sans rgyas spyan ma</i>	<i>mñan par dga' ba</i>	east	white	blue	<i>glan po che'i gdan</i>	<i>rdo rje rise lha pa</i>	<i>gzugs/</i> <i>chu</i>	<i>ts sdan</i>	<i>me loñ lha bu'i ye śeś/</i> <i>dkar po</i>	<i>dmay bal</i> <i>dud kha</i>
<i>Rin chen 'byun ldan</i> <i>Māmāñ</i>	<i>elPal dan ldan pa</i>	south	yellow	yellow	<i>ria mchog gi gdan</i>	<i>nor ba rin po che</i>	<i>tshor bal</i> <i>sa</i>	<i>hu rgyal</i>	<i>mñam pa ñid kyi ye śeś/</i> <i>ter po</i>	<i>mi/</i> <i>sthor po</i>
<i>sñan ba mñha' yas</i> <i>Gos dkar mo</i>	<i>bDe ba cam</i>	west	red	red	<i>rma bya'i gdan</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>'du śeś/</i> <i>me</i>	<i>'dod chags/</i> <i>ter sna</i>	<i>so sor rñogs pa'i ye śeś/</i> <i>dmay po</i>	<i>yi dwags/</i> <i>ser po</i>
<i>Don yad grub pa</i> <i>Dam tshig grol mo</i>	<i>Rob brtsegs pa</i>	north	green	green	<i>nam mkha' ldan ñan ñan</i> <i>gi khri</i>	<i>rdo rje rgya gram</i>	<i>'du byed/</i> <i>-lun</i>	<i>phrag dog</i>	<i>bya ba grub pa'i ye śeś/</i> <i>ñan khu</i>	<i>lha mo yin/</i> <i>dmay po</i>

* The attribution of the elements to the consorts is not explicit in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* but is inferred from the other texts used.

Zi khro sgyu 'phrul

Five Tathāgata-s and consorts*	Throne (Khrii gDan)	Mudrā (Phyag rgya)	Skandha! Bhāṣā (Phuñ poi 'Byun ba)	Buddha-quality	Enlightened quality	Power resulting from enlightened quality
rNam par tnan mēzud Kun tu buñ mo(1) =Nam mkha'i dbyiñs phyug ma	mi jiś pa sañ ge'i khri ditto	'khor lo	gzugs nam mkha'	de bñin gśēgs pa'i sku yi bdag ñid dus gsum gyi rgyol ba thams cad 'byun ba'i gnas	ston pa ñid kyi ye śas	kun la dbañ bagyur ba
rDo rje sems dpa'Mi bākṣad pa Sams rgyos spyon ma =rDo rje dbyiñs phyug ma	glañ po che'i geḍam ditto	rdo rje	rnam par śas pa sa(1)	de bñin gśēgs pa'i ihugs kyi bdag ñid dus gsum gyi rgyol ba thams cad bākṣed pa'i gñi	me lon lta bu'i ye śas	skye fi dan 'pho 'gyur gyi riog pa mi mña ba
Rin chen 'byun ldan Māmaki =Rin chen dbyiñs phyug ma	śugs 'chan rta'i khri ditto	rin po che 'bar ba chu(1)	ishor ba chu(1)	de bñin gśēgs pa'i yon lan kyi bdag ñid dus gsum gyi rgyol ba thams kyi yon lan gyi gter 'dzin ma	mñam pa ñid kyi ye śas	ma g-yos par che ba'i yon lan thams cad 'byun ba
sNan ba mñar' yas Na bza' dkar mo =Padma dbyiñs phyug ma	māśas byed rma byo'i khri ditto	padma	'du śas me	de bñin gśēgs pa'i gsum kyi bdag ñid dus gsum gyi rgyol ba kun gyi gsum mchog mas	so sor riogs pa'i ye śas	chos spyi dan rañ gi mñshan ñid gsal la ma chags pa
Don yod grub pa Dams tshig gro(1) ma =Las kyi dbyiñs phyug ma	can śas lan gñe'u'i khri ditto	rdo rje rgyo gram rñuñ	'du byed rñuñ	de bñin gśēgs pa'i 'phrin las kyi bdag ñid 'gro ba thams cad phugs pa'i sa bcu' sgrol ma	bye ba grub pa'i ye śas	'phrin las mñar phyin pa

* All the names of the consorts are preceded by Yum chen mo.

Zi kthro ñes don sñiñ po

Five Tuñhagatus and consorts	Quarter (Phyags)	Colonr body	Throne (Khrü' gDun)	Mudrā (Phyag rgya)	Skandha-si Bhāṣas (Phuā pol' Byuñ ba)	Samsāric category	Enlightened quality	Colour wisdom-light
rNam par soath mdzad Yum mchog dhyānis phyug ma	centre/ ditto	dkar gsal dkar skya	(sen ge) ditto	'khor lo dril	phuñ po lña ^a 'byuñ ba lña ^c	git mug	chos dbyñs ye šes	'od lña ^b
rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyad pa Sñas rgyas spyun ma	east ditto	mñiñ gsal mñiñ skya	glan chen ditto	rān rje dril	phuñ po lña 'byuñ ba lña	še sdañ	me lon ye šes	'ud lña
Rin chen 'byuñ ldun Māmaki	south ditto	ser gsal ser skya	ria mchog ditto	rin chen dril	phuñ po lña 'byuñ ba lña	ñā rgyal	mñam řid ye šes	'od lña
sMañ ha miñā' yas Gos dkar mo	west ditto	dmur gsal dmar skya	rma hya ditto	padma dril	phuñ po lña 'byuñ ba lña	'dñd chags	sor rlogs pa'i ye šes	'od lña
Don yad grub pa Dam tshig grol ma	north ditto	ljoñ gsal ljoñ skya	šan šan ditto	rgya gram dril	phuñ po lña 'byuñ ba lña	phrag dog	bya grub ye šes	'od lña

^a Not specified any further at the place of reference.^b Not specified any further at the place of reference.^c Not specified any further at the place of reference.

gSañ ba'i sñiñ po

Five Tathāgata-s and consorts	Skandha-si Bhāṭa-s (Phuñ pol Kkams)	Samsāric quality comm. 2	Quality Tathāgata-s comm. 2	Bija	Quality bija root-tantra	Quality bija comm. 2	Colour wisdom-light
Mi bokyod pa rDo rje dbyiñs kyi dbeñ phyug ma	nam par śes po num mkha'i khams	śe sdan	chos kyi dbyiñs kyi ye śes śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa	la to	dra bas mñon rdoogs ñid ^a	'jam bu'i kha 'dra ba ^b	'od lha ^c
rNam par sñuñ mdzud (comm. 2) Sañs 'gyus spyun ma (comm. 2)	(gzugs) sa	(gñi mug)	me loñ lha bu'i ye śes	tha tha	dra bas briun pa ñid ^d	ri dags zu bu tha ra'i kha 'dra ba ^e	'od lha
Rin chen 'byun ldan (comm. 2) Mānaki (comm. 2)	(tshar bu) chu	(no rgyal)	mñom pa ñid kyi ye śes	da da	dra bas thum me ñid	mkha' 'gyo kha 'dra bu ^f	'od lha
sñuñ ba mi ha' yas (comm. 2) Na bzu' dkur ma (comm. 2)	('da śes) me	'lod chags	sa so kun tu rtoḡ po'i ye śes	dha dha	dra bas 'khril pu ñid	ñuñ po'i kha 'dra bu ^g	'od lha
Don yod par grub pa (comm. 2) Dam tshig sgro l ma (comm. 2)	('du byed) rlin	(phrag dog)	byu ba grub po'i ye śes	na na	dra bas kun tu 'gyur	semś can to la'i kha 'dra bu ^h	'od lha

^a First item, but attributed to rha.^b Indistinct, ink-stains.^c Not specified any further at the place of reference.^d Second item, but attributed to ta.^e Indistinct, ink-stains.^f Indistinct, ink-stains.^g Indistinct, ink-stains.^h Indistinct, ink-stains.

sñan rgyud bar do thos grol and 'Zi ktho bar do 'phrañ grol

Bde bar glegs rigs lha 'Byuñ ba'i yum chen lha*	Quarler* (Phyogs)	Nāñ (Tsa)	Colour body	Throne (Khri gDan)	Clothing (Na bza')	Mudrā (Phyag rgya)	Enlightened category	Samsāric category
Kun smuñ bhyuñ na bde bar glegs thugs kyi lha Nam mkha'i lha mo yum	centue	ciñta gsañ risa	ukor gsal	señ ge'i ñi zla padma'i gdon	śel dñur na bza'	g-yos 'khor lo g-yon 'śogs pa	siññ ñid ye śes	śe śdan
gSal ba rañ byuñ bde bar glegs sku yi lha Sa yi lha mo yum	east	mñsher pa'i gsañ risa	gser po	gñun chen ñi zla padma'i gdon	gser gyi na bza'	g-yos chags śiñ g-yon 'khor lo	ñe lññ ye śes	gi muḡ
dGa lha gor phyug bde bar glegs yon tun lha Rñuñ gi lha mo yum	north	gñ bo'i gsañ risa	lññ gu	ñia mchag ñi zla padma'i gdon	ñi tra'i na bza'	g-yos chags śiñ g-yon 'khor lo	māñm ñid ye śes	ña rgyal
Bye hrug dñas med bde glegs gsañ gi lha Ba yi lha mo yum	west	mchñ pa'i gsañ risa	dñar po	'brug chen ñi zla padma'i gdon	dor dñar na bza'	g-yos chags śiñ g-yon 'khor lo	śor rags ye śes	'ñod chags
dGa' ba dñon grub bde bar glegs phrin las lha Cñu yi lha mo yum	south	mkhñ ma'i gsañ risa	mñññ gsal	khyuñ chen ñi zla padma'i gdon	boidāra na bza'	g-yos chags śiñ g-yon 'khor lo	bya grub ye śes	phrag dag

* Order inferred from the regular counter-clock-wise arrangement in the "Bon"-*mandala*.

* N.B. the names of the elements are here incorporated into the names of the consorts.

I think it is safe to assume that it would not be relevant to present exhaustive tables for all the peaceful and wrathful deities here, moreover, scholars interested in such listings would probably prefer to have other texts screened than the ones selected for the purpose of this thesis. Additional deities will only be referred to when necessary for the line of argument; for a general understanding of the matter the information gathered elsewhere (e.g. Lauf (1975)) may suffice. In the following some material regarding the eight *Bodhisattva*-s and their (eight) consorts will also be discussed, most of the data adduced here can be found in the *Bodhisattva*-sections of tables presented in the second paragraph of the previous chapter.

In the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* the *skandha* perception (Tib. *rnam par śes pa*, Skt. *vijñāna*) is said to be the first to (re-)arise/emerge²⁹⁴, which is described as a visionary appearance of the *Tathāgata* of the centre, *rNam par snañ mdzad*, or, in *Samskṛt*, *Vairocana*. This *skandha* is said to originate from the force of the obscuring emotion ignorance (Tib. *gti mug*, Skt. *moha*). The arising of this *skandha* is said to be associated with the element (Tib. *'byuñ ba*, Skt. *bhūta*) of empty space (Tib. *nam mkha'*, Skt. *ākāśa*) personified by the *Tathāgata*'s consort *Nam mkha'i dbyiñs phyug ma* (Skt. *Ākāśadhātviśvarī*). Recognition of the development that was triggered by ignorance as essentially a manifestation of one's own *dharmadhātu*-wisdom equals liberation from this process of becoming. Closing one's eyes to the possibility of all-encompassing wisdom and sticking with the conditioned disturbing emotion of ignorance amounts to a reinforcement of this tendency and is said to be conducive to a mode of existence dominated by ignorance, the so-called realm of the gods. In conjunction with the *Tathāgata* *rNam par snañ mdzad* and his consort *Nam mkha'i dbyiñs phyug ma*, two *Bodhisattva*-s, *Sa yi sñiñ po* (Skt. *Kṣitigarbha*) and *Byams pa* (Skt. *Maitreya*) and their consorts *rDo rje sgeg mo* (Skt. *(Vajra)lāsyā*) and *rDo rje me tog ma* (Skt. *(Vajra)puṣpā*) appear, representing the unfolding of, successively, the faculties of seeing and hearing when the *skandha* of perception arises. A similar story is told for the other four *skandha*-s, elements, etc.. Since the other descriptions were largely cast from the same mould they need not be presented (read: repeated) here, but can easily be gathered from the above tables. It is worthwhile, however, to note the order of re-appearance/emergence of the *skandha*-s: *vijñāna*, *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra*-s; to this we shall return shortly.

The "interpretations" of the wrathful deities largely follow that of their peaceful counterparts. The categories associated with the five *Tathāgata*-s and consorts roughly correspond to those of the five *Heruka*-s and consorts, so do the associations for the *Bodhisattva*-s and their consorts to those for the *Ke'u ri ma*-s and *'Phra men ma*-s successively and those of the four Gatekeepers to the four female Gatekeepers in the *krodha-maṇḍala* (which last also function as the leaders of the four bands of six animal-headed *Yogini*-s). Only the six *Buddha*-s of the *bhava-cakra* of the peaceful *maṇḍala* and the animal-headed *Yogini*-s of the wrathful *maṇḍala* have no correspondence.

In general, in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, the peaceful deities are said to come from the diverse quarters of the heart (*loñs sku'i lha ishogs bñi bcu rtsa gñis rañ gi sñiñ kha'i nañ nas phyir* ('*thon nas* ...²⁹⁵) and the wrathful deities appear from the

²⁹⁴ Note that the description of the (re)arising of the *skandha*-s and the aggregation of the elements at the arising of a *bar do*-state (or birth for that matter) is by approximation a reversal of the process of "dissolution", or, speaking from the perspective of a dying person, first in last out.

²⁹⁵ Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.34, ll.3f..

quarters of the brain (*rañ gi klad pa'i nañ nas* ('*thon nas...*²⁹⁶). The wrathful deities are said to be a transformation of the peaceful deities (*khraḡ 'thuñ khro bo lha tshogs 'bar ba lha bcu risa brgyad goñ gi ži ba'i lha tshogs gnas 'gyur nas 'char du 'oñ ñoi*). The *Vidyādhara*-s are, elsewhere,²⁹⁷ associated with the throat.

These *Mahāyoga*-derived descriptions of the arising of the main constituents of the personality and of all the other aspects of the mental domain that are implied in the rest of the deities described, as is summarised in the conspectus at the beginning of this chapter, give a fine impression of how the human mind²⁹⁸ was then²⁹⁹ conceived of, by which forces and in which order it was thought to arise and cease to exist, what was considered to be its essential nature and from which elements it was thought to be composed. These descriptions reveal a quite sophisticated knowledge when it comes to discriminating different areas of the mental domain and to describing the functioning of the mind on an epistemological level; they moreover betray their origin, or maybe I should say, the limits of the reigning paradigm(s), in their selection of the *Buddhist* terminology used. It might be interesting to note here that, as indicated in the conspectus above, the several groups of deities are usually associated with a certain *cakra*³⁰⁰. Thus a *Mahāyoga*-description of deities appearing on the one hand, based on external visualisation, and a *risa rluñ-yoga*-approach focusing on vital breath or energy (*prāṇa*) moving through subtle channels, eventually causing droplets of vital essence, *thig le*, to arise and or descend through various *cakra*-s along the central *nāḍī*, the *avadhūti* (Tib. *risa dbu ma*), on the other hand, in some cases actually refer to exactly the same categories. Both schemes apparently could serve to represent certain subtle and gross mental processes. What is significant, here, is the fact that descriptions of dying and rebirth make use of *risa rluñ*-terminology while the more recent *chos ñid bar do*-descriptions resort to *Mahāyoga*-concepts in order to convey their message.

Moreover, if we bear in mind the exact timing for the appearance of the peaceful and wrathful deities, referred to in the end of the paragraph preceding this chapter (to wit, the descriptions of these deities in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* follow that of the arising of a subtle mental body), and if we consider the nature of the categories associated with these deities, as they are outlined above, the cut and paste lines of the editing come to stand out quite clearly. The story of the re-arising/emerging of perception and of the various other *skandha*-s and faculties is told twice, even worse, it said to actually happen twice! First the faculties are said to arise (as a mental body), at once and complete, as we can surmise from the parallel passage at the beginning of the *srid pa'i bar do*-text³⁰¹— where, by the way, we meet so many statements already familiar from *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, that I am inclined to say, as indicated before, with Back (1979), that this *bar do* was styled after the *antarābhava* described there (amongst others). And a little after that we get a considerably more

²⁹⁶ Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.48, ll.16f..

²⁹⁷ E.g. the *Ži khro ñes don sñin po*, private copy, recent edition from Tashijong-monastery: p.57, ll.4f.: *mgrin pa loñs spyod 'khor lo'i risa 'bad lai*

²⁹⁸ Here used as the sum of what is conventionally conceived of as mental processes, not as a designation for the most subtle level (*vijñāna*) into which all subtle and course mental manifestations are said to dissolve (see the late description of the '*chi kha'i bar do* in the *gŽi sku gsum gyi rnam bśag rah gsal sgron me* (XL.0696) by *dByaṅs can dga' ba'i blo gros* or *A kya yoñs 'dzin* (eighth century AD)).

²⁹⁹ Even though we do not as yet exactly know when this "then" was.

³⁰⁰ As at times also are each of the *Tathāgata*-s and other individual deities.

³⁰¹ See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.71, ll.14ff..

verbose description concerning the arising of the *Tathāgata-s* and *Bodhisattva-s* and their consorts, which are, as outlined above, quite explicitly said to represent the same process.

Obviously there was a need to elaborate on the re-arising/emerging of perception after a "disintegration" of the *skandha-s*³⁰², and obviously too, the arising of a subtle mental body as described (or rather prescribed) already for an *antarābhava* in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, could not be omitted, not only for the risk of disrespecting the opinions of an ancient master and his sources, but also because the perception of these deities did, like any perception in a *bar do*-state, presuppose at least the *skandha* perception. The fact that such a conspicuous inconsistency in construction was tolerated only reinforces the urgency of the need to uphold or respect the interests indicated above. Significant in this respect is the order in which the *skandha-s* are said to arise (and "disintegrate"), the order of arising is the regular order in which the *skandha-s* are listed, with the exception of *viññāna*, which is usually mentioned last yet is here said to appear first (and "dissolve" last). The reason for this adaptation of the order of the *skandha-s* might be due to an awareness of the fact that perception is necessarily the first and last *skandha* needed to witness the arising and declining of *bar do*, *viññāna* has to turn the light-switch.

Moreover, the reason why an elaboration on this point was considered necessary in the first place, probably lies in a theoretical conflict related to this problem. The *skandha viññāna* was involved in an unsatisfactory conflux of theories. First there was the theory concerning some kind of "dissolution" of the *skandha-s* of a person at death, the conventional person was generally conceived of as a mere temporary agglomeration of *skandha-s* that were characterised, amongst others, as impermanent. But there also was a notion of continuity through death (and an intermediate state) that adhered to one of these *skandha-s*, to wit, *viññāna*. In short, *viññāna* at the same time appears as a factor of transience and continuity.

And lastly, as discussed above, apparently a *Mahāyoga*-vocabulary was preferred here to a *riṣa rluñ-yoga*-derived way of describing.

I have to add here, that already before the arising of perception several experiences are described, but these "accounts" pertain to an experience of the clear light of death, which, in essence, is designated as a non-dualistic experience, but which is, admittedly, difficult to perceive as such. I have the impression that the passage concerning the experience of the clear light of death originally belonged to the '*chi kha'i bar do*'. It is significant in this respect that the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*³⁰³, but also works of the *bKa' rgyud pa-siddha-s*³⁰⁴ often explicitly refer to this experience as the clear light of death ('*chi ba'i 'od gsal*'). Notable too, is the fact that the inclusion of a *chos ñid bar do* as extant in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* forces the redactor(s) to distinguish a first³⁰⁵ and a second³⁰⁶ experience of clear light of *dharma*tā (*chos ñid kyi 'od gsal*) at the end of a first ('*chi kha'i*') and the beginning of

³⁰² The question how this "disintegration" was exactly conceived of, especially whether a subtle carrier of *viññāna* was thought to remain, and, possibly, of the other *skandha-s* contained in it, does not need to detain us here. The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, for instance, is not very explicit on this point. In general the *rNin ma*-literature I studied so far does not elaborate on that point; all the evidence for a continuation of a subtle carrier of *viññāna* I came across was presented in descriptions of the process of dying associated with the *dGe lugs pa*-tradition (e.g. in the *gZhi'i sku gsum rab gsal sgron me*, or in the *Kālacakra*-description of dying).

³⁰³ See e.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.10, l.1.

³⁰⁴ See e.g. Kern 28.536.3, (*ku*): folios 162r, l.4, 163r, l.2, and 167v, l.4.

³⁰⁵ See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.8, l.10.

³⁰⁶ See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.11, l.18.

the second (*chos ñid kyi*) *bar do* successively; for what would the second *bar do*, the *chos ñid bar do*, be without an experience of the *chos ñid kyi 'od gsal*? The *Ñi zla kha sbyor* has a more consistent redaction, omitting the experience of clear light from the descriptions of the '*chi kha'i bar do*, which feature would certainly not argue for a greater antiquity of this text relative to the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, but at the moment I am not so sure as to whether these texts may at all be compared on a level suggesting such a close relation.

At this point I should confess that the title to this chapter might to some extent be misleading, for the idea that forms in the mind of a present-day reader when considering the term "traditional 'interpretations' of *ñi khro*" might not exactly represent the way in which the authors of the texts concerned associated a deity with certain categories. A deity might for instance be conceived of not so much as a representation of something else, which it as some kind of abstraction or symbol refers to and in which terms it has to be interpreted, but as actually standing for it, as if it were, conceptually, occupying the same "place". That is to say, though differentiated and viewed from another angle the deity might not be considered as fundamentally different from what it was associated with. The conceptual leeway we show, when assuming that the concept deity is an abstraction, which should be interpreted as a certain, say mental, category, which in turn requires another, possibly psychological, interpretation, might be too much to presuppose for the writers of the material we are concerned with here. How exactly these deities were conceived of by different authors at certain points in time is, of course, difficult to establish, but at any rate we should be careful not to thoughtlessly project our own conceptual frameworks unto these texts.

So when talking about a "traditional interpretation" we are actually referring to the way the deities were then and there said to be conceived of, without presuming to exactly know how, or to know whether or not the associations listed were the result of conscious interpretation.

This consideration brings us to the next chapter in which an attempt will be made to consciously (re)interpret or translate the information presented in the texts analysed above into more familiar concepts, which might amount to no more or less than explicitly indicating some of the models we might, and subconsciously probably already do, use, when trying to make sense of the descriptions of a *ñi khro-maṇḍala* as for instance described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

But before venturing out on the slippery paths of interpretation, I should first like to present a most remarkable late Tibetan Buddhist testimony of a discussion on the nature of *ñi khro*. This discussion is recorded in a work on *bar do-s* by a seventeenth-century *rñin ma pa*-scholar from south-eastern Tibet, *rTse le sna tshogs rañ grol* (1608-?), called *Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam par gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me lon*³⁰⁷. This short consideration touches upon so many interesting points that it deserves to be quoted in full:

³⁰⁷ See The collected works (gSuñ 'bum) of *rTse le sna tshogs rañ grol*, reproduced from a collection of manuscripts from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche by Sanje Dorje, two volumes, Volume II, pp.139-233, esp. p.202, l.6 - p.206, l.2, New Delhi 1974 (XL.2352/3). The *Bar do spyi'i don* is translated by Erik Pema Kunsang as *The Mirror of Mindfulness, The Cycle of the Four Bardos*, Boston 1989 (see esp. pp.61-63).

༥ ཡང་། འདི་ །།༣༠༣།། སྐབས་སྤྲུག་ཟག་ལ་ལའི་བསམ་ཡུལ་སྤྲུ³⁰⁴ རྩོགས་ཆེན་མ་
གཏོགས་པའི་ཆོས་གཞན་ལས་ནི་བར་དོ་དང་པོའི་འོད་གསལ་མ་ཟེན་ན་ །།༣། རྣམ་ཤེས་
འཕྲོན་དྲི་སྤྲིད་པ་བར་དོ་འབར་བར་བཤད་པ་ལས། སྤྲོའོད་ཟེར་གསུམ་མམ། ཞི་ཁྲིའི་ལྷ་
ཆོགས་འཆར་ཚུལ་མི་འབྱུང་ལ། གལ་དྲི་འཆར་ །།༣། བ་ཡིན་ནའང་རང་རང་གི་ཆོས་
ལུགས་དང་ཉམས་ལེན་གང་ཕྱེད་དེའི་ལྷ་ཆོགས་ཤར་ན་མ་གཏོགས། ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རྟོང་མ་
ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཞི་ཁྲོ་འཆར་བ་མི་སྤྲིད་སྤྲུམ་པ་སོགས་འབྱུང་ །།༤། མོད་ཀྱི། །དེ་ལ་སྤྲི་ཆོས་
ལུགས་སོ་སོའི་ལམ་རིམ་མན་ངག་དེ་དང་ཆ་མཐུན་པར་བར་དོའི་གདམས་པ་ཡང་ཆ་ཆད་
འབྱུང་མོད་ལ། རང་རང་གི་རྒྱུད་གཞུ་ །།༥། དེ་ཀའི་དགོངས། དོན་ལྟར་ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་
ཅུལ་འདོན་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱང་གང་ཡང་མཆིས་དྲི། འགའ་ཞིག་ལས་བསྐྱེད་རིམ་གཙོ་བོར་
གསུངས་པ་དང་། །།༦། ལ་ལར་ཐབ་³⁰⁶ ལམ་བདེ་སྤོང་གི་ཉམས་ལེན་ལ་ཅུལ་དུ་བཏོན་
པ་དང་། གཞན་དག་དུ་སྤྲོས་མེད་ཁོ་ནར་དྲིལ་བར་གསུངས་པ་སོགས་མཐའ་ཡས་མོད་
།།༣༠༤།། ཀྱི། ད་ལྟ་ཉམས་ལེན་གང་ལ་གོམས་པ་དེས་བར་དོར་སྤྲོབ་དགོས་པ་གཞིར་
བཅས་ཀྱང་། རྩོགས་ཆེན་སྤྲིང་དྲིག་སོགས་ནི་ཁྲིག་ཆོད་ཐོད་གལ་ཟུང་འཇུག་ །།༣། དུ་
ཉམས་སྤྲུལ་ལེན་པའི་སྐབས་ཡིན་པས། ད་ལྟ་དེ་དག་ལ་གོམས་ཆེ་བར་དོ་ཡང་དེ་ལྟར་ཤར་
ཞིང་། དེ་ལ་ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་³¹⁰ སྤྲོབ་ན་གྲོལ་བར་ཡང་གཞིར་ །།༣། ཐུབ་ལ། ཆོས་གཞན་
ནས་ཐོད་གལ་གྱི་ཉམས་ལེན་དངོས་སྤྲུམ་གསུང་བས་བར་དོ་དེ་དག་འཆར་བ་ཡང་མ་
གསུངས་མོད་ཀྱང་། སྤྲོའོད་ཟེར་གསུམ་ནི་རྒྱུད་ །།༤། སེམས་དབྱེར་མེད་དངས་མ་ལྟ་
འདུས་རྒྱུན་ལས་ནམ་ཀྱང་འཆར་ལ། ཡང་འཕྲང་སྤྲོལ་ཆེན་མོ་སོགས་ནས། དོན་གྱི་³¹² ཅ་
རྒྱུང་ཐོག་ལེ་རྣམས་ནི་ནམ་དུ་ཡང་འབྱུང་ །།༥། བ་མེད་པར་གསུངས་པའི་དོན་དང་།
གཞན་ཡང་དུས་འཁོར་སྤྱིར་དུག་ནི་རྩོགས་ཆེན་གྱི་སྤྲང་ལྷན་ཉམས་སྤྲུལ་ལེན་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན་
ཅིང་། ། ལྟ་འཆར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ །།༦། འགྲོ་བ་ཕུང་པོ་ཁམས་སྤྱི་མཆོད་ཐམས་ཅད་
གདོད་ནས་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཉིད་དུ་ལྷན་གྱིས་བྲུབ་ཚུལ་ནི་རྒྱུད་ཐེ་ཀུན་མཐུན་ཆེ། ཕུང་པོ་ལྟ་

³⁰⁸ Emend: *hsam yul du*; in *dhu med*-script *su* resembles: *tsheg + du*.

³⁰⁹ Emend: *thabs*.

³¹⁰ Emend: *gyis*.

³¹¹ Emend: *don gyis*?

ཡང་རིགས་ལྔ་དང་། འབྲུང་བ་ ||༡༠༥༥|| ལྔ་ཡུམ་ལྔ། ཚྲ་བརྒྱད་སེམས་དཔའ་
 བརྒྱད། ཡུལ་བརྒྱད་སེམས་མ་བརྒྱད་སོགས་ཡིན་མ་ཡིན་ཆེ། དམ་པ་རིགས་བརྒྱ་བཤད་
 པའི་ཁོངས་སུ་ལྔ་ ||༡༥|| གཞན་ཀྱང་མ་འདྲས་མེད་དང་། འོན་ཀྱང་སྐྱེ་མཁོག་ཕྱག་མཆན་
 སོགས་མི་གཅིག་པ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་ནི་སྤྱད་གཞི་སྤྱད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་དག་སྦྱར་སོ་སོ་ལ་བདེན་ནས་བཤད་
 ||༡༥|| པ་མ་གཏོགས། དོན་དམ་པར་ནི་རང་རིག་སྐྱེ་གསུམ་དབྱེར་མེད་དམ་སྐྱེ་གཉིས་བྱེད་
 འཇུག་དུ་མ་འདྲས་པའི་ལྔ་དང་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ནི་འགར་ཡང་མེད་པ་དང་། རང་རང་གི་བག
 ||༡༥|| ཆགས་གོམས་འགྲིས་ཀྱི་མཐུ་ལས་ནི་དམ་པ་རིགས་བརྒྱར་མ་བྱེད་གཞན་འཆར་བ་
 ཡང་མ་ངེས་ལ། སྐྱག་པ་ཅན་ལ་གཤིན་ཤིང་སྐྱེས་བྱར་སྤྱད་བས་ཡང་རང་ཉིད་ ||༡༥|| ཀྱི་
 ལས་སྤྱད་དུ་བྱེད་ཅིང་། དོན་ལ་ནི་གང་དང་གང་ལྟར་གར་ཡང་རང་སྤྱད་ཉིད་དུ་ཤེས་
 དགོས་པ་ནི་གནད་དམ་པའོ། གཞན་ཡང་ཇི་སྟེན་དུ། རྒྱལ་འབྱོར་པ་རྣམས་ ||༡༥|| འཕོ་
 བའི། ཁྱག་འབྲུང་ལ་སོགས་རྒྱལ་འབྱོར་ལས། མེད་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་ལག་ན་འཕྱོག། ལྔལ་
 མཆན་བ་དན་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་དང་། རོལ་མའི་སྐྱ་ནི་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས། ||༡༥༥|| འཆི་བ་ཞིས་
 བྱ་རྣམ་ཏོག་སྟེ། མཁའ་སྤྱོད་གནས་སྤྱི་ཡོད་པར་བྱེད། ཅིས་གསུངས་པ་འདི་ཡང་རྟོག་
 ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཉིད་བར་དོ་དང་དགོངས་མཐུན་པར་སྤྱད་ངོ་ ||༡༥|| ལར། ...

... Furthermore, these days, in the imagination of some individuals, on the basis of what is taught from other teachings, not belonging to *rDzogs chen* -- to wit, if one does not understand the clear light of the first *bar do*, perception emerges and then the *bar do* of becoming unfolds -- the triad of sound, light and rays or the manner of arising of the host of peaceful and wrathful deities would not occur and even if they (the deities) would arise there would be no (essential) relation, since that host of deities will have arisen that pertains to one's particular school and the practice one performs, it would be impossible that the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *rNin ma* school would arise for all people; thus indeed occurs to (their) mind etc.(?).

In general *bar do*-teachings regarding this do indeed exist in accordance with the aspects of the particular stages and instructions of a school, so then manifesting in the right capacity and even (in accordance with) the emphasis and approach of practice according to the sense and meaning of a specific section of one's particular *tantra*, whatever it might be:

in some the generation stage is proclaimed as the highest;

in some the emphasis is put on the practice of bliss and emptiness pertaining to the path of means;

in others one is exhorted to just poise (literally: gather) oneself in the absence
of activity;
and so forth;

limitless they are indeed. With the practice one is presently accustomed to, one also possesses the basis that one needs when arriving in *bar do*.

Because the *rDzogs chen* (-teachings like) *sNān tig* etc. are an opportunity to practice in *Khreg chod* and *Thod rgal* as an indivisible unity (or possibly, in *Khreg chod*, *Thod rgal*, and *Zuñ 'jug*), and since being accustomed to them now, *bar do* will also arise in that manner, if one reaches that (level) by practice one has also realised it as the basis for one's release. And because the practice of *Thod rgal* is not actually explained in other teachings, it is indeed also not mentioned (there) that those (specific experiences) manifest in *bar do*.

But the sound, light and rays, will always manifest, for the reason that the indivisible *prāṇa*-mind is composed of the five essences, likewise the meaning promulgated in the *'Phrañ sgrol chen mo* and the like, that one is essentially never separated from *nāḍī*, *prāṇa* and *bindu*, and also (in) the *Dus 'khor* and *sByor drug*, which accord with the *rDzogs chen sNān mun*-practice, and since all sections of the *tantra-s* agree that the deities arising also are the realms, *skandha-s*, elements, sense-organs, and the rest, that are from the beginning in the manner of spontaneous presence (contained) in the *maṇḍala* itself, the five *skandha-s* also are from the beginning the five (*Tathāgata-s* pertaining to the five *Buddha*)-families, the five elements are the five consorts, the eight perceptions³¹² are the eight *Bodhisattva-s*, the eight realms of perception are the eight female *Bodhisattva-s*, and so forth, and there is no other deity that is not comprised within <the sphere of> what is explained as the revered host of one hundred (deities), but still, the various diverging body-colours, attributes, etc. are excepted, they are explained depending on the exact individual combination of the basis that has to be purified and that which purifies. In highest truth, there is not a deity or *maṇḍala* for whomsoever that is not contained in the indivisible *trikāya* of self-awareness (or) the revered unity of the two *kāya-s*, and it is not certain that, resulting from the power of one's individual tendencies and habits, others than the revered host of one hundred (deities) will (not) also arise; while appearing as *Yama's* men to the sinful it is still only a manifestation of their own *karma*, fundamentally, no matter what and how it manifests, it is important to recognise it as in essence one's own conception, that is the highest quintessence.

As it is also worded elsewhere,

When *yogin-s* pass away from here
The group of the *Heruka-s* and the *Yoginī-s*
Holding various flowers in their hands
And various banners and pennants,
With divers sounds of music proclaim:
"So-called death is a mental construction"
Leading the *tantric* practitioners to their state.

³¹² The text reads *ishor ba*, here, not the usual *rnam śes*.

Being phrased thus, this too, seems to be in accordance with the *chos ñid bar do* of the *rÑiñ ma* school and its meaning. ...

Notwithstanding *rTse le sna tshogs rañ grol*'s apparent preference for the eternal-knot-like type of Tibetan sentence, which at times prattles along happily for half a page or more (a "structure" which I have struggled to retain as well as possible in my translation), the author manages to be quite clear and explicit on the point of "interpretation". Probably due to the fairly late date of composition, his approach rings far more familiar in our ear than the implicit interpretations contained in the rather mechanically construed associations offered in previous centuries and almost deserves to be classified as an interpretation in a more modern sense (without quotation marks).

rTse le sna tshogs rañ grol confirms that there are traditions, other than *rDzogs chen*, that transmit teachings in which there is no reference to the experiences of sound, light and rays, nor to peaceful and wrathful deities after death, in fact they do not seem to have teachings on a *chos ñid bar do* as such, the '*chi kha'i bar do* is, if release at death is not realised, immediately followed by a *srid pa'i bar do*. Furthermore these people seem to attribute the appearance of peaceful and wrathful deities to the particular visualisation practice the adept was engaged in. It is interesting that our *rÑiñ ma* spokesman does not discard this last allegation completely. He concedes that after-death-experiences are conditioned by practice, but at the same time maintains that the experiences of sound light and rays are universal. He is moreover convinced that the deities, if perceived, stand for the categories they are traditionally associated with, nevertheless allowing for some variation in body-colours, attributes and the like. And even though he deems the *maṇḍala* of one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities to be all-comprehensive, he seems to accept that some people might not experience it in that form after death, he even leaves room for other deviating appearances according to the particular conditioning of the person involved, and points out that all after-death-experiences are but manifestations of one's own mental activity and as such are inseparable from one's own self-awareness (*rañ rig*).

It is hard to describe the satisfaction a researcher feels when stumbling upon a set of statements like this. The passage quoted reflects a critical attitude that developed from discussion that resulted from criticism on the *rÑiñ ma rDzogs chen*-version of a *chos ñid bar do* with a *ñi khro-maṇḍala*, while indicating some of the other opinions current, it makes a quite explicit statement on a *rÑiñ ma rDzogs chen*-position. From these considerations of *rTse le sna tshogs rañ grol* I should like to proceed towards the next chapter, in which a further interpretation of traditional "interpretations" of *ñi khro* will be attempted.

3 An Attempt at "Translating" the *Kar glin zi khro*

In the previous chapter we examined several traditional "interpretations" of *zi khro*, mostly consisting of implicit associations, but also featuring a more explicit consideration by *rTse le rin po che*. Though there definitely are quite significant differences in the categories associated with the several deities in individual texts, there appears to be a rather large degree of agreement between most of the texts examined, certainly as far as the more frequently used deities are concerned, and thus there seems to be enough common ground for a general discussion. In this chapter I will try to extend the "interpretation" by associating the deities and the categories related to them with other and partly more modern concepts and theories regarding the subject.

In the seven sub-sections of the first paragraph in this chapter I will discuss some theories and accounts relevant to the subject that one could meet with today:

1. Very interesting are the findings of experiments employing sensory deprivation.
2. Moreover I should like to briefly relate the more "epistemological" considerations in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and related texts concerning the (re)arising of perception and conditioned mental processes to some recent insights from a relatively new (inter)discipline, the so-called cognitive science, as far these are accessible to a non-specialist.
3. Jungian psychology will also be briefly referred to.
4. Furthermore I should like to review recent research into accounts of acclaimed experiences of an intermediate state as reported in Tibetan '*das log*-stories and
5. some relevant material in recent publications on reports of near-death-experiences as well as
6. experiences related by patients undergoing hypnotic regression.
7. Lastly I should like to address some studies concerned with the various conceptions of a subtle body.

In the second paragraph of this chapter I will attempt to rephrase some of the experiences described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* making use of the concepts and imagery reviewed in the previous paragraph.

3.1.1 Sensory Deprivation

An interesting field of study that will be briefly considered here is that of deprivation-experiments, in which the experimental subject is deprived of "normal" sensory input by diverse means, e.g. by sensory isolation (sensory deprivation) or by monotonising the sensory stimuli (perceptual deprivation), and the resulting changes in consciousness are screened by various, unfortunately not always compatible, methods.

The first systematic experiments in this direction were undertaken in the fifties in McGill University in Montreal, Canada; since that time scientific work in this new

field of study has continued³¹³. I shall here sum up some of the most relevant general findings of these and related experiments as they are presented in Zubek, et al. (1969). Induced by sensory deprivation certain, mostly visual, experiences can occur ranging from the perception of amorphous spots and diffuse light or flashes of light, occasionally interpreted as e.g. fire or clouds of smoke, through geometric shapes and forms, to more or less complex animate or inanimate objects or scenes. The visual experiences reported are variously classified as "hallucinations", "images", and "reported sensations".

Distinctions may, and up to a certain degree can, be made between illusions, waking hallucinations, hypnagogic hallucinations, (night)dreams, fantasies, daydreams, and images. The distinction "real" and "imagined" should be controllable by proper deprivation-conditions (no leaks). Illusions refer to distortions of real objects in the case of monotone or diffuse stimulation. The distinction between waking hallucinations, hypnagogic hallucinations, and (night)dreams, can be detected by establishing the wakefulness of the subject. Hallucinations occur during waking states, hypnagogic hallucinations during drowsy states, and dreams during "stage one" sleep. The arousal level can be measured by EEG-recordings, nightdreams by recording REM (Rapid Eye Movements). The distinctions between hallucinations, (night)dreams, fantasies, daydreams, and images mainly depend on subjective reports. Images are reported as having a pleasant effect, being to some extent under control, being located in space in front, being familiar, and as having some subject participation. These sensations typically changed somewhat, were coloured and three-dimensional, realistic, and frequently spontaneous. Nightdreams are reportedly less familiar, but require more participation. Daydreams are said to be more pleasant and more multicoloured and to be localised in the subject's head. Hallucinations can further be characterised as being uncontrollable in onset, content and termination, as being "out there", scanable, and apparently real. Sensory deprivation-hallucinations are distinct from psychotic hallucinations, which tend to appear suddenly without premonitory symptoms, occur during states of intense affect, may be superimposed on a visual environment that is otherwise normal and are generally seen with the eyes open; the majority of psychotic hallucinations are moreover auditory. In the specific case of schizophrenic hallucinations many religious, supernatural figures, or symbolic figures and objects tend to appear. Drug-induced hallucinations show more resemblance to sensory deprivation-hallucinations, coloured patterns and geometrical forms dominate, but they are usually more colourful, vivid, and persistent.

The visual sensations typically show a progression from simple, unstructured, meaningless sensations to more complex, structured, meaningful ones. There does not seem to be any influence of motivational or sex-differences on the deprivation-experiences, some experiments report an inverse relation between intelligence and the complexity of the reported visual sensation.³¹⁴

Often changes in intellectual performance are reported. Subjects generally experience major difficulties in thinking coherently and in concentrating during sensory deprivation, it reportedly takes (too) much effort to follow a specific train of thought for an extended period of time.³¹⁵

³¹³ See Introduction and Historical Background in Zubek, et al. (1969), pp.3ff..

³¹⁴ See Zubek, et al. (1969), pp.86-94, further references provided there.

³¹⁵ See Zubek, et al. (1969), pp.126-166.

3.1.2 Cognitive Science

Admittedly a rather presumptuous title for a modest contribution like the one contained here, even more so, since this so-called cognitive science stands for the united efforts in unravelling cognitive processes by scientists of no less than five disciplines -- to wit, psychology, linguistics, computer science, philosophy, and neuroscience.

Our main objective is a juxtaposition of the more introspective and intuitive insights from Indo-Tibetan contemplative traditions on an acclaimed (re)arising of perception after the moment of death and the experiences described for the "period" immediately following, with some relevant theories and results from modern more empirically oriented research regarding the nature and functioning of cognitive processes. This being our main concern the disciplines of cognitive psychology on a higher level of theory-formation and neuropsychology and neurophysiology on the root-level of implementation of cognitive theory in general promise to yield the most relevant information.

Though it is not very difficult to meet with interesting general hypotheses and theories on the various levels of functioning of cognitive processes, which can be located relatively easily in secondary literature (see bibliographical references in Stillings, et al. (1995)), time does not permit me to track down, if extant at all, in sufficient detail more specific information regarding the arising of perception and theories concerning changes in cognitive processes as a result of changed levels of consciousness (waking, sleep, trance, and the like), like for instance briefly skimmed in the above-mentioned deprivation-experiments. In general the present state of knowledge, as presented in Stillings, et al. (1995), strikes me as rather unsatisfactory, especially the connection between models for cognitive processes and possible neurological implementation up until now, notwithstanding the promising prospects, still remains rather difficult to establish. Still, some of the more general insights into human cognition deserve to be briefly reviewed here. I will refrain from referring to passages in Stillings, et al. (1995) at each and every instance, the index and table of contents in that work will easily guide the reader to the relevant pages.

One basic insight, which cognitive psychology shares with *Yogācāra-Buddhism*, is almost too flat and self-evident to mention, namely that human cognition is based on representation of information. Maybe more surprising is the theory that the processing, storing and retrieving of representational data does not so much involve the concrete representations themselves as well more or less meaningful patterns of these data, that is to say that the human mind works with various levels of abstraction, representations of patterns of representations, from which the lowest level of data can be reconstructed with enough accuracy. This feature allows the human mind to store, retrieve and manipulate far greater amounts of information than when dealing with concrete data on the lowest level, for the working memory of the human mind appears to be very limited (if we have to work with more than two or three variables at a time we already tend to rely on pencil-and-paper-memory). Dealing with higher levels of abstraction also ensures higher processing speed. But inter- and extra-polation of cognitive patterns during reconstruction of the primary data may result in inaccuracies or even errors, as for instance in the case of a witness "remembering" more than he actually saw at a certain event, because he reconstructed the patterns in which he stored the information by means of interpolations based on experience that proved to be generally applicable in similar situations, but that might not fully apply in the particular case (for instance the white-haired man while "remembered" as an aged

person was actually a thirty-year old albino male). There are obviously (learning) skills involved in applying rules for storing, modifying and employing these levels of abstraction accurately.

Moreover information seems to be stored by linking it to other related data and patterns of data, the more links established the easier some piece of information can be retrieved, but as a consequence, more irrelevant links and possibly corrupt associations are available also.

These mechanisms leave us with a highly efficient data-management and computation system, geared to storage capacity and retrieval and computational speed rather than to exact one-to-one representation, and therefore also with a system highly prone to error and illusion. It is only by experience and continuous learning, by flexibility, that we manage to keep up to date and before all, "in touch with reality", however functional this locution may be interpreted, while on the other hand, in skill-acquisition, we manage to assure a high degree of accuracy and tremendous processing speed of certain repetitive but possibly critical tasks by lowering the threshold for an "automated" and thus just more or less inflexible, execution of script-like patterns. Moreover, motivation, goals, focus of attention, receptivity, mood, etc. but also pure coincidence are factors influencing, for instance, if and how information is stored and can be retrieved.

Such an analyses of cognitive processes allows for many possibilities of experiences that do not, or only to a limited degree, correspond to certain actual or past stimuli from without or from within the individual, not only illusion but also various degrees of blending of sensory perception and illusion are possible.

3.1.3 Jungian Psychology, Not Discussed

There undoubtedly are many more relevant approaches to be found within (or, as regards some of the more speculative approaches, according to some, rather without) the confines of psychological sciences and related disciplines. Jungian analyses, for instance, of the imagery used in the descriptions of the visual experiences described for the *chos ñid bar do* along the lines of archetypes, might prove to be helpful for the understanding of these descriptions that appear so strangely archaic and exotic to our present-day thinking. Unfortunately it is rather difficult, especially for a non-specialist, to do justice to the vast and complex theoretical constructions that were initiated by Carl Gustav Jung within the scope of just one paragraph of a thesis. Moreover, some of the assumptions underlying Jungian theory are so controversial that it seems difficult to refer to them without further justification. Just to make use of some of his insights without paying attention to all the far-reaching implications of the postulations involved, like "a collective subconscious" for instance, does not seem to be advisable, in addition to that, the theoretical framework construed by Jung and his followers strikes me, as a non-adept, as particularly dense and closed unto itself, which would further discourage a haphazard borrowing of stray concepts that have some appeal to the general reader. In short, I prefer to leave such a, doubtlessly interesting, discussion to a Jungian scholar. I do not consider myself qualified for such an undertaking and moreover cannot conceal the fearful apprehension that a Jungian analyses of the experiences indicated would just exchange the density of *tantric* statements with that of Jungian statements without actually clarifying much for a non-Jungian adept. There is, of course, Jung's much read and discussed psychological commentary to the "Tibetan Book of the Death" (in the translation by Lāma Kazi

Dawa-Samdub, edited by Evans-wentz (1927), pp.xxxv-lii)³¹⁶. Lauf (1975, pp.243-255) also devotes some attention to this approach. A more recent attempt to link up Tibetan *Buddhism* in general to Jungian psychology can be found in Moacanin (1986).

3.1.4 'Das log-Accounts

Francoise Pommaret recently³¹⁷ published some material regarding both literary and more recent verbal accounts of people from the Tibetan and Himālayan regions that claim to have returned to (the same) life after having passed away, the so-called "*das log*". In her book "*Les Révenants de L'Au Déla dans le Monde Tibétain*" (1989) she reviews the reception and discussion of this phenomenon in Western literature, Tibetan and Bhutanese sources, and lastly presents some material she gathered by interviewing '*das log*-persons during field-work in Nepal and Bhutan. I do not intend to repeat her findings here, but I should like to briefly refer to '*das log*-accounts on a *chos ñid bar do* presented in a discussion in a section on "*Le Livre des Morts tibétains (Bardo thos grol)*"³¹⁸. The descriptions of the *chos ñid bar do* that are here compared to the text of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* are taken from '*das log*-reports extant in the biography of a Bhutanese woman named *Saṅs rgyas chos 'dzom* -- the *rJe btsun spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa 'das log saṅs rgyas chos 'dzom gyis 'zag bdun mar dmyal kham* *dañ yar 'zin kham* *bcas mjal ba'i lo rgyus rnam thar khyad par can*'³¹⁹ -- which are summarised in Pommaret (1989), pp.29-67. According to Pommaret this biography does not predate the second half of the seventeenth century.

Though they have a fair amount of material in common, the stories related do not follow the narrative line familiar from *Bar do thos grol*-texts. Amongst the many often mythological descriptions of otherworldly wanderings and insights into hells and paradises, some scarce material that seems to pertain to a *chos ñid bar do* appears, which, on the whole, could accord reasonably well with experiences described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. *Saṅs rgyas chos 'dzom* reports visions of several wrathful deities, after experiencing these visions she lost consciousness and her *Yi dam*, that functions very much like a guide here, explained to her that the terrors she experienced just now are in fact the *ñi khro*, which appear to all deceased. At another (later) point she also makes mention of the five *Tathāgata-s*, the realms of rebirth and the *Buddha-s* pertaining to them (this actually agrees better with the order of mention in the *Bar do spyi'i don* than with that in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*). On pp.108f. Pommaret neatly lists these experiences in combination with similar ones described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, but I strongly advise the reader of her work to also refer to the summarising translation provided on pp.29-67 or to the original reports³²⁰, since the order and context in which these passages occur make the accordance appear much less convincing than her conspectus suggests.

³¹⁶ For a critical reflection on the understanding, competence and merits of the authors mentioned in the field of this particular literature see Reynolds (1989), Appendix I, pp.71-115.

³¹⁷ See Pommaret (1989) and (1992).

³¹⁸ See Pommaret (1989), pp.106-110.

³¹⁹ Published in Thimphu in 1980, the original manuscript is according to Pommaret in private possession somewhere in *bKra šis sgañ* in eastern Bhutan.

³²⁰ References provided in the conspectus on pp.108f. are to the Thimphu-edition, not to her summarising translation.

3.1.5 Near-Death-Experiences

For many people the name Raymond Moody is indissolubly connected with the popularisation of research on near-death-experiences. It is to no small extent due to his literary efforts that this purportedly not infrequent phenomenon³²¹ has become a familiar topic in the Western world. But still, he is only one of the many researchers (Melvin Morse, Michael Sabom, Michael Grosso, Kenneth Ring, Robert Sullivan, to name a few) working in this field of study. In recent decades many reports regarding these experiences were gathered and categorised. Some general features can be listed that are frequently reported and could hence be seen as characteristic for a near-death-experience, these characteristics are by no means fully present in all reports³²²:

- a notion of being dead, which often takes some time to "sink in";
- a sensation of peace and freedom from bodily discomfort;
- a notion of being separated from one's body, reports of having a subtle body of some kind instead;
- an experience similar to passing through a dark tunnel or other passage-way with a bright light at the end, not all those questioned mention this experience; some report to float into the air and to quickly move away from the earth.
- meeting people that apparently are made of some kind of intense and warm glowing light, often identified as relatives and friends; sometimes descriptions of pastoral scenery and the like; direct communication without words or visual or other sensory signals;
- meeting a supreme being of light, identified, often according to the religious background of the subject, as various known or unknown religious or holy figures;
- a panoramic three-dimensional full-colour review of one's life; this review lacks a fixed chronological order, but is experienced in full in one single moment and interaction is viewed not only from the perspective of the subject but also from that of the object;
- many designate these experiences as pleasant and only regretfully return to their previous state;
- often mention is made of a barrier of some kind, which when trespassed would prove to be a point of no return;³²³
- subjects report a different sense of space and time, conventional progression of time does not seem to apply and neither do customary limits of spatial separation.

It is difficult to associate these experiences with those described in Tibetan *Bar do*-literature like *Bar do thos grol*-texts, especially with descriptions of a *chos ñid bar do* -- the older concept of a *srid pa'i bar do* seems to offer more opportunities for comparison. Except for references to out-of-the-body-experiences, the descriptions of a subtle body, and general references to light and other visual or auditory perceptions there do not seem to be very precise and striking similarities. Neither do 'das log'-stories as gathered and presented by Pommaret show more than some slight and

³²¹ A Gallup poll in 1982 revealed that about five percent of the interviewed Americans reported a near-death-experience.

³²² See Moody (1988), pp.21-30.

³²³ N.B. this point is not mentioned in Moody (1988), pp.21-30 but in Moody (1975), pp.62-65.

general resemblance to near-death-experiences as presented by Moody. But since the relevance of such a comparison to the present study does not seem to be very great not in the last place because the *srid pa'i bar do* is not our main concern here, I should like to leave this question aside and conclude this consideration by referring to several opinions of Tibetan scholars on this point.

The late 'Jam mgon koñ sprul the third, when asked after a lecture, emphatically denied that any experience beyond the clear light of death could be reported in a near-death-experience since the clear light of death is per definition a point of no return.

rTse le sna tshogs rañ grol in his *Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam par gsal bar byed pa'i me loñ*, situates this point earlier in the '*chi kha'i bar do*. He calls upon the authority of the *Bar do 'phrañ sgröl* here. According to *rTse le rin po che* one can recover from an illness up until the general signs of death (*mthun mori gi 'chi rtags*), but at the onset of the special signs of death (*khyad par gyi 'chi rtags*), i.e. the stages of "dissolution" of the gross and subtle thoughts and conceptions (*snañ rtogs kyi 'phra rag gi thim rim rnam*), the process of dying is irreversible³²⁴.

The contemporary *rDzogs chen*-teacher Sogyal Rinpoche, in his "Tibetan Book of Living and Dying"³²⁵, is less prudent or conservative in this respect and points to several similarities of near-death-experiences and especially *srid pa'i bar do*-descriptions. He moreover feels that the '*das log*-accounts correspond not only to *bar do*-teachings, such as contained in *Bar do thos grol*-texts, but also to near-death-experiences³²⁶.

3.1.6 Hypnotic Regression

These considerations bring us to recent research of Joel Whitton³²⁷. As a psychiatrist Whitton made use of hypnotic regression. In cases where therapeutical regression to early youth proved to be of no avail, he tried working with regressions to purported previous lives. Quite by accident, by giving an ambiguous instruction during a hypnotic regression session in 1974, a patient started to relate experiences from an out-of-the-body-perspective. According to the answers given by the patient these experiences were interpreted by Whitton as not pertaining to the previous life she was guided back to nor to the life before that, to which he had tried to guide the imagination of the patient; they were apparently, that is considering the reported impressions, perceived by the patient as being located in an interval between two consecutive lives: she was watching her mother from above and reported to be waiting to be born from her³²⁸. From this derailed regression Whitton started to investigate the issue of an intermediate state more systematically. He consciously tried to guide subjects to a period between two lives and recorded the reported experiences and thus managed to gather reports from more than thirty subjects.

The accounts of this period between lives, here dubbed "bardo", are presented by Joe Fisher who actually wrote the book based on Whitton's findings. Unfortunately Fisher made rather generous concessions towards general appeal to a large public and is not very precise in indicating what is actually based on reports and what is a result of his or perhaps Whitton's extrapolations and personal convictions, let alone that he would

³²⁴ See XL.2352/3, p.161, ll.1-3, cf. Kunsang (1989), p.31).

³²⁵ See Sogyal Rinpoche (1992), pp.319-336.

³²⁶ See Sogyal Rinpoche (1992), pp.330f..

³²⁷ See Whitton (1986).

³²⁸ See Whitton (1986), pp.24-30.

present any statistical information regarding the recorded reports. So it is a little hazardous to try to extract general conclusions of Whitton's research from Fisher's juicy rendering.

Nevertheless as far as I can gather from Fisher's presentation the reports seem to be remarkably consistent. They also are in many points -- again excluding general references to out-of-the-body-experiences and reports of a subtle body -- remarkably divergent from the descriptions from Indian and Tibetan traditions that we met so far. But the reports that start with an account of the process of dying are said to accord well with those of near-death-experiences as investigated by Moody and others; only the barrier, the point of no return, is not mentioned by Whitton's patients. Many subjects in Whitton's regression therapy report an evaluation of the previous life in the intermediate state and most of them mention encountering a council of three, four, or seldom, seven wise and elderly men helping with this task. The previous life is visualised in the same way as was described (be it at another point) for the near-death-experiences. Many subjects also report to have consciously planned the next life, though the degree to which a life-plan was laid out differed. Some did not report any planning at all, they either rushed into a new life or simply dozed off after appearing before the council and awoke in a baby-body.

I greatly regret that the only presentation of these interesting reports available to me is presented in such an imprecise and dubious manner that it is almost rendered useless for any serious reference, but I do hope that, by nevertheless trying to present what appear to be the general conclusions of Whitton's research, I succeeded in indicating possible cultural differences in how individuals tend to imagine elusive concepts like an intermediate state. The results of Whitton's research have no direct relevance for the way a *chos ñid bar do* was conceived in India or Tibet, but combined with information from near-death-accounts and *das log*-reports it might point out to which degree certain traditional imagery is conditioned by the cultural context in which it arose, developed and perhaps is still functioning, and which elements appear cross-culturally³²⁹.

3.1.7 Theories regarding a Subtle Body

In the above sub-sections we noted that the experiences and theories regarding a state of death discussed so far, notwithstanding their many differences, have a few features in common:

- quite naturally, I dare say, in all instances discussed a separation from the body is described;
- more remarkable is that invariably a subtle body is mentioned;
- furthermore, various, predominantly visual, experiences are described; a vision of overwhelming bright light is common;

³²⁹ Interesting experiments have been conducted by scientists like Leary, Metzner, and Alpert in which Americans were guided on the basis of a *Bar do thos grol*-inspired guidebook through drug-induced psychedelic experiences; the subjects were consciously instructed to experience exactly in the way described there (see Leary, et al. (1964)). I do not have any reports of results of these or similar experiments. The book published on the subject (Leary, et al. (1964)), does not present any results, neither does it refer to further literature. It presents itself as a rather trendy guide for gaining access to experiences described in some of the *Bar do thos grol*-texts by means of ingestion of certain drugs and guided imagination.

an altered sense of space and time is reported or can be deduced;
and moreover reference is made to some kind of evaluation or judgement of the
past life.

I do not intent to present a cross-cultural comparison of speculations regarding death and a beyond here, nor do I wish to extend the discussion of the points listed above to a wider context than the one adduced so far. Many comparative studies and studies focusing on one particular culture or group of related cultures do already exist³³⁰, it would not be useful for me to add some more general considerations to the already existing stock.

The descriptions of visual and auditory experiences and the evaluation or judgement vary considerably in the above samples, and seem to be strongly susceptible to culturally determined or personally conditioned influences. The reports and descriptions of a subtle body, however, show much agreement. It is regarding these allusions to a subtle body that I should like to give further references in this last subsection of the first paragraph.

J.J. Poortman, professor of metaphysics "in the spirit of theosophy" at Leyden University from 1958-1966, published the most extensive study known to me on the vast and widely spread speculations regarding a subtle body. He tenaciously digs out evidence for his theory of hylic pluralism from all relevant testimonies in various cultures throughout history that were available to him and presents the results of his research in an edition in five volumes called "Ochêma, Geschiedenis en zin van het hylich pluralisme"³³¹. Surely an impressive achievement, but unfortunately the compilation was performed rather mechanically, he seems to have been concerned more with adducing "proof" for his thesis than with doing justice to the traditions examined. Moreover the "language" of his study is, if I may say so, hopelessly theosophical. Nevertheless his work remains unequalled in the amount of material made available to the general reader. A more concise and more objective presentation is available in a recent study of van Dongen and Gerding (1993).

Both studies³³² devote some attention to Greco-Roman literature. In the discussion of the quite sophisticated Neo-Platonist theories regarding subtle bodies some interesting facts emerge which deserve to be briefly mentioned. The matter of interest is a reference to the possibility of purification in relation with a subtle body³³³. Explicit mention of purification rituals employing a subtle body by the Neo-Platonist author Iamblichus (245-330) can be found in a study by Finamore (1985, pp.125ff.). Though the theoretical context differs greatly from speculations regarding a subtle body in *tantric Buddhist* literature, also with regard to how the (here multiple) subtle bodies were conceived of, there still are some striking similarities, one of the subtle bodies for instance, which is characterised by Iamblichus as "vehicle" (he uses both the terms

³³⁰ See for comparative studies amongst many others Poucha, P. (1952), Lanf (1975, esp. pp.201-228), Toynbee, et al. (1979); some studies on death-ritual among "*Bon po-s*" are e.g. Brauen (1978), Lalou (1953), Snellgrove (1967, esp. pp.116-123), Stein (1970); a study of interesting Hindu-material is extant in an old study by Abegg (1921), this material is compared to material available from *Bar do thos grol*-literature in Back (1979); many translations and studies of Egyptian literature on the dead and a beyond are available starting with the first edition by Budge (1899); a recommendable study on "the history of heaven" in the Judo-Christian traditions is to be found in McDannell and Lang (1988); a study on Greek customs concerning death can be found in Garland (1985).

³³¹ That is in the Dutch edition, the English translation has only four volumes, combining the first two volumes of the Dutch original in one volume.

³³² See Poortman (1958), Vol.IV(III), and van Dongen and Gerding (1993), pp.64-84.

³³³ See van Dongen and Gerding (1993), pp.83f..

αὐγοειδὲς πνεῦμα and αὐγοειδὲς ὄχημα³³⁴) controls the functions of sense-perception and imagination³³⁵. This issue cannot be treated here beyond this reference, not in the last place because of a lack of expertise on my side with regard to the complex subject of Neo-Platonist philosophy. But this short reference will suffice to indicate that developments that possibly show some parallels to those witnessed in Indo-Tibetan *tantric* practices of internal or external visualisation employing a subtle mental body do also exist in classical occidental literature.

3.2 *Chos ñid bar do*

We shall now take a closer look at the (*kar gliñ*) *ñi khro* of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and examine their traditional "interpretations" a little further. In the introductory verse the deities are referred to as *loñs spyod rdzogs sku padma'i ñi khro lha*³³⁶. The experience of the *ñi khro*-deities is, not surprisingly, relegated to the colourful and emotional level of the *sambhogakāya*, but what is more remarkable is that they are also explicitly associated with the *Padma*-family and with *Amitābha* (here *sNañ ba mtha' yas*). *Amitābha*, here associated with the *dharmakāya*³³⁷, is presiding over a triad which is completed with *Padmasambhava* as the *nirmāṇakāya*-manifestation. That *Kar gliñ ñi khro*-texts are associated with *Padmasambhava* need not surprise us for a *rñiñ mal' rdzogs chen-gter ma*, but the connection with the *Padma*-family and its presiding *Buddha Amitābha* needs some explanation. As indicated before³³⁸ the fact that *Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan*, associated with the translation of *Sukhāvati*-texts, is claimed as an earlier incarnation of *Karma gliñ pa* might be a traditional way of suggesting *Amidist* proclivities on the side of *Karma gliñ pa*, possibly indicating that such influences might be extant in his *gter ma*-s in the *Kar gliñ ñi khro*-cycles. The popular cults surrounding *Amitābha*, especially his role as some kind of saviour at death -- the person faithfully devoted to him can trust on being set face to face with this *Buddha* of infinite light at the moment of death³³⁹ -- might in the course of time have become associated with practices concerning death and an after-death-state. This relation is obvious in the popular practice of '*pho ba*, which, by the way, is also referred to several times in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*³⁴⁰. Moreover, there might well be some relation between the experience of the clear light of death and the vision of the *Buddha* of infinite light at death. Even though both the practice of '*pho ba* and the '*od gsal*-experiences are obviously closely associated with forms of *Buddhist rtsa rluñ-yoga*, there seems to have been some degree of cross-fertilisation with devotional *Amidist* thought and practice. As indicated in the third paragraph of the first section, when discussing the prayer cited in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, *Amitābha* is, apart from the points mentioned, not treated differently from the other *Tathāgata*-s here; but still, the *Tathāgata*-s are, indeed, said to appear after death and also are beseeched to lead the supplicant to their respective realms. The uttering of the name of *Amitābha* is not involved; the only and, admittedly, vague and indirect clue is contained in *Na rag doñ sprug(s)*-texts, where the names of *ñi khro* are invoked in

³³⁴ See Finamore (1985), n.54 on p.161 (ad p.144).

³³⁵ See Finamore (1985), p.147 (see n.57).

³³⁶ See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, l.2.

³³⁷ See Schwieger (1978), pp.13f..

³³⁸ In section 1.3.

³³⁹ See *Sukhāvativyūha*, Wogihara (1931), p.30, *prañidhāna* 18, translation on p.386.

³⁴⁰ E.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, ll.14f. and p.8, l.15.

order to bring about purification of the person reciting these names, but this is such a general practice that it hardly carries any weight of evidence. More concrete points of influence deserve to be explored in detail, but such an investigation cannot be carried out here.

In general, reference to the *Padma*-family or *Amitābha* would indicate emphasis on devotion and compassion, which stands out especially distinct in the descriptions of the peaceful deities and the accompanying verses. The relegation of *ži khro* to the *sambhogakāya*, and the fact that release in the *chos ñid bār do* is said to amount to becoming a *Buddha* in one of the *buddha*-fields on a *sambhogakāya*-level (... *žin du/ ... žin kham su loñs spyod rdzogs pa'i tshul du sañs rgyas par 'gyur ro'*³⁴¹), indicate a quality of experience that is apparently associated with the appearance of these deities in the *chos ñid bār do*. The concrete qualities of a *sambhogakāya*-experience can be deduced from the descriptions of the deities provided in the *Chos ñid bār do'i gsal 'debs*: they are described as very vivid, extremely clear, bright, and colourful, having a dream-like quality³⁴² yet perceived while the subject is (more than) wide awake; moreover strong emotions are usually involved.

Furthermore the three main groups of deities, the peaceful deities, the *Vidyādhara*-s, and the wrathful deities, are, as mentioned in section 1.3 and 2, associated with different areas of the body and the corresponding *cakra*-s, to wit, the *ye šes kyi 'khor lo* or *thugs kyi 'khor lo* (*Skt. jñānacakra*) in the heart, the *loñs spyod kyi 'khor lo* (*Skt. sambhogacakra*) in the throat and the *bde chen gyi 'khor lo* (*Skt. mahāsukhacakra*) in the crown of the head successively. In the course of time a quite elaborate *tantric* theory grew around these *cakra*-s. Lauf (1975) summarises some of the material relevant to *ži khro*³⁴³. Since the *Chos ñid bār do'i gsal 'debs* hardly pays attention to this tripartition and scarcely hints towards further interpretation, I tend to believe that for this text the arrangement of the deities according to these three *cakra*-s may be interpreted in the most general terms as they are suggested by the context. The peaceful *mañḍala*, relegated to the heart, is apparently associated with majestic sensations of emotive tranquillity. The *Vidyādhara*-s as a group do not appear to be as well defined and as elaborately described as the peaceful and wrathful *mañḍala*-s. Mainly based on their names and descriptions, and on the fact that they appear together with large numbers of *ḍākinī*-s, we might provisionally associate them with vitality and vital energy (*prāṇa*), having a strong connotation of power, and with inspirational impulses especially as linked to speech and communication, as, for instance, in the transmission of knowledge and insight. Even though they are associated with *vāc*, they still seem to function on all three levels of body, speech and mind: movement and dance, speech and communication, and inspiration and vision. The wrathful *mañḍala*, relegated to the brain, is apparently associated with vehement emotions of terror and desire; the experiences described seem to be pervaded by a quality of fear, aggression and irritation due to a strong sense of (intellectual) separation into subject and object. But I would rather not speculate too much on basis of the scarce evidence extant. Later texts like the *Ži khro ñes don sñiñ po* pay more attention to these and similar systematisations.

The *tantric* associations increase to a sheer dazzling complexity as soon as we focus on smaller groups of deities or individual deities and their attributes, especially if we make use of all sources available, including the later ones and their later

³⁴¹ E.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, ll.14f. and p.19, ll.9f..

³⁴² Not explicit in the *Chos ñid bār do'i gsal 'debs*, an explicit reference is to be found in the *Ñi zla kha shyor*, see Orofino (1985), p.117, l.24.

³⁴³ See Lauf (1975), pp.73-76, esp. the table on p.76.

"interpretations", as the impressive popularising compilations by Lauf (1975) and the even more freely conducted interpretations by Govinda (1956) may well indicate. By announcing a further interpretation of traditional associations regarding the (*kar gliñ*) *ṣi khro-maṇḍala*, I was not stating any intention to redo the work done by Lauf, Govinda and others, nor do I intend to add available textual and historical references and further critical apparatus to all the material they gathered or to additional material that might still be added to the existing stock. This undertaking, if performed properly, would require many years of work and many volumes for publication. In this paragraph I should like to elaborate on the traditional "interpretations" indicated in the previous chapter in a more qualitative manner, that is treating the (*kar gliñ*) *ṣi khro-maṇḍala* as a concept used in the theory of a *chos ṇid bar do* rather than discussing every possible detail pertaining to the *maṇḍala* and the classifications involved. In the following I shall make use of the material presented in the first paragraph of this chapter and I will try to stay as close as possible to the way the *ṣi khro* are presented in the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

Important for the understanding of the *kar gliñ zi khro* described is the part immediately preceding the exposé of their appearance, to wit, Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.16, l.7 - p.17, l.12, which deserves to be quoted and translated here in full:

གྱི་^{༣༤༤} རྟོགས་གྱི་བྱ་^{༣༤༥} ཁྱོད་གྱི་ལུས་དང་སེམས་བྲལ་བའི་དུས་སྟེ། ཆོས་ཉིད་དག་པའི་སྒྲིང་
 བ་སྤྲོལ་དངས་པེ།^{༣༤༦} གསལ་ལ་ །།ད་ཟུང་།། འཆོར་བེ།^{༣༤༧} རང་བཞིན་བཀྲལ་^{༣༤༨} ལ་
 ཉམས་དེ།^{༣༤༩} སོས་ཀའི་^{༣༥༠} ཐང་ལ་སྒྲིག་སྒྲིག་བྱ་^{༣༥༡} བཞིན་དུ་མི་མེ་མི་^{༣༥༢} འཆར་དུ་
 འོང་འོ་^{༣༥༣} དེ་ལ་མ་འཇིགས་ཤིགེ།^{༣༥༤} མ་སྒྲུག་ཅིགེ། མ་སྒྲུང་ས་^{༣༥༥} ཤིགེ། དེ་མི་ཁྱོད་

१८८
ཁ་དང་ཅ། གྱི་ ང། གྱི།

104 5.11

154 ཁ་དང་ཅ། དངས་པུ་ ཅ། དངས་པ།

༡༤༦ ཁ་དང་ཅ། གསལ་ལ་འཛེར་བ་ ག། གསལ་ལ་འཛེར་བུ་ ང། གསལ་ལ་འཛེར་བ། ཁ་ནི་འཛེར་ནི་ར་འབྲལ་

ཡིན།

104 ཁ་ང་དང་ཅ། བཟུག་གསལ་

ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཉམས་ང་བུ།

ཁ་དང་ཅ། སྟོས་ཁའི་ ང། སྟོས་ཀ།

१५१
ཁ་དང་ཅ། རྩེག་ཀྱི་ ང། རྩེག་ཀྱི་

ད་ནི། ཁ་དང་ཅར་མེད།

१५१
८। अरुःरे

342 5711

३५५
[५'५८'३]

१५५
[५] ५८८' ८'५८'८। ५८८९'

རང་གི་ཚེས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རང་མདངས་ཡིན་པས་ངོ་ཤེས་པར་གྱིས་གིག། འོད་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་ཚེས་
 ཉིད་ཀྱི་རང་སྤྲུང་གྲག་³⁴⁰ ལ་ལྷིང་ཆེ་བུ། འབྲུག་སྤོང་དུས་གཅིག་ལ་ལྷིང་བ་ཅམ་དུ་ལྷིང་རི་རི་³⁴¹
 འོང་ངོ་།³⁴² དེ་ཡང་ཁྱོད་རང་གི་ཚེས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རང་སྤྲུང་ཡིན་པས་དེ་ལ་མ་འཇིགས་གིག། མ་
 སྤྲུག་ཅིག་།³⁴³ མ་སྤངས་³⁴⁴ གིག། ཁྱོད་ལ་བག་ཆགས་ཡིད་ཀྱི་ལུས་ཞེས་³⁴⁵ གུ་བ་ཞེས་³⁴⁶
 ཡོད་ཀྱི།³⁴⁷ བདོས་བཅས་³⁴⁸ གུ་བྱུག་གི་ལུས་ནི་མེད་པས་³⁴⁹ སྤྲུང་འོད་ཟེར་གསུམ་གང་ཤུང་
 ཡང་། ཁྱོད་ །ང་། ༣༦༠། ལ་གཞོན་པ་མི་ཡོང་སྟེ།³⁵⁰ ཁྱོད་ །ཀ་། ༡༧། ལ་འཆི་སྐྱ་མེད་
 རོ་།³⁵¹ ཁྱོད་རང་གི་ །ཀ་། ༡༨། རང་སྤྲུང་དུ་ངོ་ཤེས་པ་ཀྱང་བས་³⁵² ཆོག་གོ་³⁵³ བར་དོ་
 ཡིན་པར་ཤེས་པར་³⁵⁴ གྱིས་གིག། ཀྱི་³⁵⁵ རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་³⁵⁶ དེ་ལྟར་³⁵⁷ རང་སྤྲུང་དུ་ངོ་མ་ཤེས་
 ན། མི་ཡུལ་དུ་བསྐྱེམས་བསྐྱབས་³⁵⁸ ཅི་ལྟར་³⁵⁹ བྱས་ཀྱང་³⁶⁰ ད་ལྟའི་གདམས་པ་³⁶¹ འདི་

³⁴⁰ ཁ་དང་ཅ། རང་སྤྲུང་གྲག་ ཅ། རང་སྤྲུང་ སྤྲུང་གྲག་

³⁴¹ ཁ་དང་ཅ། དེ་རི་རི་

³⁴² ཅ། ། །

³⁴³ ཅ།

³⁴⁴ ཁ་དང་ཅ། དང་དས་

³⁴⁵ ཞེས་ནི། ཁ་དག་ཅར་མེད།

³⁴⁶ ཞེས་ནི། ཁ་དང་ཅར། བཅིག་ ཅར། མེད།

³⁴⁷ ཁ། ཡོད་ཀྱིས། ཅ། ཡོད་ཀྱིས་

³⁴⁸ ཁ། རོས་བྱས་ ཅ། བདོས་བཅས་ ཅ། བདོས་བྱས་

³⁴⁹ ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཅ། ཅ།

³⁵⁰ ཁ་དང་ཅ།

³⁵¹ ཅ། ། །

³⁵² རོ་ཤེས་པ་ཀྱང་བས་ནི། ཁར། རོ་ཤེས་པ་ཀྱང་གིས་ ཅར། རོ་ཤེས་པ་ཅམ་བྱས་ ཅར། རོ་ཤེས་པས་ཀྱང་

³⁵³ ཅ། ། །

³⁵⁴ ཅ། རོ་ཤེས་པར་

³⁵⁵ ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཀྱི་ ཅ། ཀྱི།

³⁵⁶ ཁ་དང་ཅ།

³⁵⁷ ཁ་དང་ཅ། ད་ལྟ་

³⁵⁸ ཁ་དང་ཅ། བསྐྱེམས་བསྐྱབས་

³⁵⁹ ཁ་དང་ཅ། རི་ལྟར་

ངང་མ་འཕྲད་ན། འོད་གྱིས་འཇིགས་སོ།³⁴⁰ སྒྲིམ་སྒྲུང་ས་སོ།³⁴⁰ ཟེར་གྱིས་སྒྲག་གོ།
 གདམས་པའི་གནད་འདི་མ་གཤིས་ན།³⁴¹ སྒྲ་འོད་ཟེར་གསུམ་ངོ་མི་གཤིས་པས་³⁴² འཁོར་བར་
 འབྲམ་མོ།³⁴³ །།ག་།། གྱི་³⁴⁴ རིགས་གྱི་བུ། ཞག་ཕྱེད་དང་བཞིའི་བར་དུ་བརྒྱལ་ནས་
 འབྲེལ། བརྒྱལ་སངས་པ་དང་།³⁴⁵ ང་ལ་ཅི་བྱུང་ན་³⁴⁶ མཉམ་པའི་སྒྲུང་བ་འབྱུང་བས།³⁴⁷
 ཁྱོད་གྱིས་བར་དོར་ངོ་གཤིས་པར་གྱིས་གིག། དེའི་ཚེ་འཁོར་བའི་ །།ང་།། རུ་ལོག་
 ནས་³⁴⁸ སྒྲུང་བ་ཐམས་ །།ཅ་།། ཅད་འོད་དང་སྒྲུང་³⁴⁹ འཆར་རྩོ།³⁵⁰

Venerable Sir, on the moment that your body and mind have separated, the clear light of *dharmatā*, of a pure subtlety, of brilliant clarity, of an awesome natural brightness, is going to arise, shimmering like a mirage hovering on a plain in spring. Feel no terror, no fear, no anxiety regarding it. Since it is the natural lustre of your own *dharmatā*, do recognise!

From within the light the natural sound of *dharmatā* will reverberate with the vehemence of a great rolling thunder, as much as a thousand thunderclaps rumbling at the same time. Because that, again, is the natural sound of your own *dharmatā*, feel no terror, no fear, no anxiety regarding it; since you have a so-called mental body of habitual tendencies, (that is to say),³⁵¹ because there is no

- ^{340a} ཁ། གྲང་ ང་ གྲང་ ཅ། གྱིད་
^{340b} ཁ། འདམས་པ་
^{340c} ང། ། །
^{340d} ཁ་དང་ཅ། དངངས་
³⁴¹ ཁ་དང་ཅ།
³⁴² ཁ་དང་ཅ། ངོ་མ་གཤིས་ན་ ང། ངོ་མ་གཤིས་ནས་
³⁴³ ཁ་དང་ཅ། འབྲམ་མོ། ང། འབྲམ་མོ།
³⁴⁴ ཁ་དང་ཅ། གྱི་ ང། གྱི་
³⁴⁵ ཁ་དང་ཅ། བརྒྱལ་སངས་པ་དང་
³⁴⁶ བྱུང་ན་ནི། ཁ་དང་ཅས་ བྱུང་བ་ ང། བྱུང་
³⁴⁷ ཁ་དང་ཅ། མཉམ་པའི་
³⁴⁸ ཁ་དང་ཅ། འབྱུང་ལྡན་
³⁴⁹ ངོ་གཤིས་པར་ནི། ངས་ གཤིས་པར་
³⁵⁰ ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཅ།
³⁵¹ ཁ་དང་ཅ། སྒྲ་རྩ་
³⁵² ང། ། །

³⁵¹ Possibly, "you have ..., but because there is no ...".

material body made of flesh and blood, whichever of the triad of sound, light and rays might have arisen, there will be no harm for you, death does not pertain to you. Simply³⁹⁴ recognising them as your own conceptions is sufficient, do know that it is the *bar do*.

Venerable Sir, in case you do not recognise them as your own conceptions, whichever meditation and practice you performed in the human realm, if you do not meet with the nature of the present instruction, you will be distressed by the light, feel anxious because of the sounds and frightened by the rays. If you do not know this essence of the instruction, not recognising the triad of sound, light and rays, you will wander in *samsāra*.

Venerable Sir, coming forth after having been unconscious for a period of three and a half days, you arise from oblivion, and, when the notion "What happened to me?"³⁹⁵ occurs to your mind, do recognise that you are in the *bar do*. At that time, <the division of> *samsāra*³⁹⁶ being reversed, all mental conceptions will arise as lights and bodies.

Initially we find descriptions of visual experiences, the clear light of *dharmatā*, diversifying into sound, light and rays. The emphasis is on visual experiences, sound is said to proceed from within the light. One is reminded that one does not have a physical body of flesh and blood, but a mental body of habitual tendencies. All experiences (that is including the sense of having some kind of subtle body) are said to arise from one's own conceptions, in fact, it is put even more poignantly, the order *samsāra* is said to be "reversed" here, while in ordinary waking consciousness perception of, for instance, colours and physical forms conditions conceptual thinking and gives rise to concepts, in *bar do* all concepts are perceived as lights and bodily forms.

The experiences described so far match remarkably well with experiences reported in sensory or perceptual deprivation-experiments. It seems possible that experiences like those were projected into an after-death-state, maybe partly in extrapolation of experiences resulting from certain meditative practices -- which often involve some level of perceptual deprivation -- and maybe partly due to sensory and perceptual deprivation during a sick- or death-bed and the process of dying or due to the disintegration of sensory and mental faculties at the time of death, the descriptions given might thus have some basis in experience. Whether these experiences are actually taking place after death or whether they are only perceived as such remains, of course, open to debate. We should take into account that under circumstances like those outlined above the subject might suffer from an altered and, in a conventional sense, unreliable notion of space and time and would, if he is at all able to, report accordingly.

Immediately following this, the descriptions of the peaceful deities start, followed by several other descriptions. Texts in traditions that are probably based on the *Ūi zla kha sbyor*³⁹⁷, like e.g., the *Ži ba bar do lam gyi mshan űid*, the *Bar do spyi'i don* and Sogyal Rinpoche's recent exposition (1992), feature a more systematic enumeration in four stages. It is interesting to note that the elaborate description of the peaceful deities in the *Chos űid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is so dominant in the description that different "stages" do not stand out at all in this version (there is, as mentioned in a

³⁹⁴ Read: *rkyuñ pas*.

³⁹⁵ The particle *na* is, regarding the other readings, apparently redundant here.

³⁹⁶ I do not understand the expression '*khor ba'i ru*', *ru* is provisionally translated as "division".

³⁹⁷ See section 1.3.

previous paragraph³⁹⁸, not a one to one match in the experiences listed nor is the order of their appearance fully corresponding; at the beginning of the *khro bo'i bar do* the *ṣi ba'i bar do* is referred to as being composed of seven stages³⁹⁹). Moreover the *Vidyādhara-s* and wrathful deities appear in the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs* after descriptions of experiences that roughly correspond to the last two of the above-mentioned four stages, that is to say, in the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs* these two *maṇḍala-s* are separated from the "stage" in which the peaceful deities appear and which corresponds to the stage wherein, for instance, in the *Bar do'i spyi'i don*, the whole *ṣi khro-maṇḍala* appears (i.e. the second stage, the wrathful deities appear first, no *maṇḍala* of *Vidyādhara-s* is mentioned⁴⁰⁰).

This seems to affirm the impression with which we left the discussion in section 1.3 of affiliation between texts like the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs* on the one hand and texts like the *Ṇi zla kha sbyor* and the *Bar do'i spyi'i don* on the other, though some material is shared they appear as discrete traditions that developed more or less separately. The *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs* cannot be explained as a *Ṇi zla kha sbyor* that was extended with elaborate descriptions of the three main *maṇḍala-s* of deities, there are too many discrepancies between the texts, while certain aspects (the several stages) seem to be treated in a more systematic manner in the *Ṇi zla kha sbyor*, which makes a borrowing even more unlikely. However, the point of interest here is not so much the possible relation between these texts, but the fact that in the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs* the *maṇḍala-s* of the peaceful deities, of the *Vidyādhara-s*, and of the wrathful deities appear like outgrowths in the middle of as well as after this series of experiences thus giving the whole a rather hydrocephalic outlook, breaking and distorting their arrangement as some kind of a sequence, as these events apparently were conceived of as taking place in several (i.e. seven) stages.

The *kar gliṇ ṣi khro* as a visionary experience do not convey their universal character in any convincing manner, occasionally not even to a scholar from within the traditions they pertain to, like *rTse le rin po che*, let alone to opponents of the *rṆin ma* and *rDzogs chen*-traditions. I certainly do not want to rule out the possibility that an adept very much conversant with the *kar gliṇ ṣi khro-maṇḍala* might under certain conditions reproduce the visual experiences he was trained to evoke, but most probably the elaborate descriptions of deities largely represent an insertion of *tantric* theory within the framework of a *chos ṇid bar do*; thus leaving us with a reference to *tantric* theory and related practices relevant or important at the time of conception of the *chos ṇid bar do* in this form, in short with a signature of the author(s).

But however much this autograph is appreciated, the point I am trying to make here is that contrary to some experiences in the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, like for instance the experiences of light and sound translated above, I would not advise to try and interpret the description of the *ṣi khro-maṇḍala* as a probable experience certainly not for an uninitiated subject (quite contrary to the efforts of Leary et al. (1964)). The descriptions of the *kar gliṇ ṣi khro* though based on visualisation-practice are highly theoretical in nature. The order of appearance of the deities and their corresponding categories, for instance, need not necessarily represent a sequence probable from the point of view of "lived" visionary experience. The order of appearance, the lay-out of the *maṇḍala*, and the filling in of details were very much subject to the conventions

³⁹⁸ See section 1.3.

³⁹⁹ See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.43, ll.8f..

⁴⁰⁰ Sogyal Rinpoche (1992) apparently tries to harmonise the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and the *Bar do'i spyi'i don* in this respect, he refers to a description like in the *Chos ṇid bar do'i gsal 'debs* but includes the wrathful deities (after the peaceful *maṇḍala*) while leaving out the *Vidyādhara-s*.

used at that time in the traditions involved. If we want to understand or interpret the order, lay-out, or the iconographical details of the *maṇḍala* we need to rely on traditional "interpretations" in the relevant lines of transmission, like for instance gathered by, amongst others, Lauf (1975) and Govinda (1956), Snellgrove (1957). But we should be careful not to neglect the factor time. An interpretation adhered to by a present-day *bla ma* or another representative of tradition (even if representing the exact tradition(s) the *maṇḍala* pertains to) might not accurately cover the state of knowledge of centuries ago. Studies like for instance Lauf (1975) and Govinda (1956) definitely fall short on this point. Snellgrove (1957 and 1987) proves himself to be more sensitive to the historical dimension. As mentioned before I do not have the intention to investigate these points here, this is not an iconographical study, nor a study about (developments in) *maṇḍala*-theory nor even a survey of *zi khro-maṇḍala-s*.

Recapitulating we may say that certain experiences of (textures of) light, colour, sound etc., might under specific conditions actually have been and still be perceived and might even have some universality, in that people from other cultures under similar conditions are liable to perceive them in a like manner. In the *Chos ṅid bar do'i gsal 'debs* these experiences became the insertion points for elaborate descriptions of *maṇḍala-s* of peaceful and wrathful deities, the *kar glin' zi khro*, which seem to be a theoretical construction stemming from *tantric* esoteric theory, which can best be understood by following the explicit and implicit leads and "interpretations" offered in the relevant traditions themselves, as for instance briefly presented in the second chapter of this thesis, and which are as such more or less specific to these and related traditions.

The reason for the insertion of these elaborate descriptions of the *maṇḍala-s* probably lies in the need for "explaining" a (re)arising of perception and, which very much amounts to the same thing, the development of a subtle mental body after disintegration at death, briefly discussed in the previous chapter.

As also mentioned in the previous chapter we have to consider the possibility that certain psycho-physical phenomena could not be expressed otherwise than in *rtsa rluṅ*-terms or in "iconographical" visualisation-based concepts. The reason why the descriptions at a certain point in the *Chos ṅid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, i.e. when trying to give a more detailed account of the arising of the several mental faculties in a *chos ṅid bar do*, switch from *rtsa rluṅ*-based terminology to iconographical concepts might be very simple and straightforward, an iconographical description is better suited for quantitative detail, that is to say, is able to convey the several specific and concrete details of the mental faculties, while *rtsa rluṅ*-based terminology is better fitted to describe the qualitative aspects, the general psycho-physical processes.

4 Conclusion

Regarding the overwhelming amount of material on *bar do-s* and *ṣi khro* available (see Appendix I), this study cannot be but exploratory in character. Only the smallest number of the texts located and gathered so far has actually been used in this thesis, and even these "select few" often have only been as much as touched upon; many of them do inspire to be revisited for more detailed research. I have tried my very best to select the most relevant material from what is at present available to me, but I can by no means guarantee that important texts have not escaped my attention nor that important passages have not been overlooked by me, the more so, since Tibetan texts do not always bear predictable titles and often appear "concealed" as parts of larger works. Still, I dare hope that this study, in spite of its limitations, will prove to be of help to those interested in literature concerning *bar do-s* and *ṣi khro* and in the "old *tantra-s*" and *gter ma*-literature in general and will possibly inspire more detailed studies in the field. Many points for further research have already been indicated in the course of this thesis, one suggestion that I should particularly like to forward here is a compilation and comparison of different *ṣi khro-maṇḍala-s* in *Buddhist* and *Hindu tantra-s* as well as in "*Bon*"-texts, in order to establish lines of transmission and influence between texts an authors in these several traditions; *maṇḍala-s* seem to be a good indicator of affiliation.

In conclusion, in this chapter, I should like to briefly review the most important conclusions and hypotheses that resulted from this research into the *ṣi khro* of *Karma gliṅ pa*, however tentative some of them may be.

Texts pertaining to older *Buddhism* do not seem to be of much relevance to us here. The material is rather scarce, does not seem to be very old and moreover the picture of an *antarābhava* presented is far from complete, since most of the earlier material available reflects positions of those opposed to this concept. Most of the positive evidence of an *antarābhava* appears in later works, like the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, the *Abhidharmakośa* and *Bhāṣya*, and the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*. The picture of an *antarābhava* that emerges, for instance from the *Abhidharmakośa* and *Bhāṣya*, has many features in common with later descriptions of a *śrid pa'i bar do*, as for instance extant in *Kar gliṅ ṣi khro*-cycles. The opinion that there is a substantial relation between an *antarāparinibbāyin* and an *antarābhava*, as apparently maintained in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, does seem to be a later construction.

Points of interest that need to be worked on are a possible relation between certain interpretations of the so-called *antarāparinirvāyin* and *Anidist* trends in *Buddhism*. The exact relation between the first members of some *pratyayasamutpāda*-versions, to wit *avidyā* and *saṃskāra-s*, and speculations concerning an intermediate state between death and rebirth, too, seem worth-while to be investigated more thoroughly. Another interesting matter that definitely deserves more research is the position of *viññāna* in death, rebirth and possibly in an intermediate state. Especially the reconciliation of the impermanent *skandha viññāna* with the *gandharva*-like concept of *viññāna* that apparently was conceived of as continuing through death in some way or other, needs to be studied in a historical context. It would be very revealing to have an overview of the several theories concerning this in older *Buddhism*, *abhidharma*-texts, *Yogācāra*-traditions, and diverse traditions and schools in later Indian *tantric* and Tibetan *tantric Buddhism*.

In *tantric Buddhism* speculations regarding *bar do*-s start to proliferate, especially in Tibetan *rñin ma* (*rDzogs chen*-) and "Bon"-(*rDzogs chen*-)) traditions, but also in *bKa' rgyud pa*-traditions, theories and practices regarding them apparently have been received and developed with great enthusiasm. Several more or less distinct strands of *bar do*-speculations seem to exist. Though a '*chi kha'i bar do* (or an equivalent, the nomenclature is not always consistent or at all extant) and a *srid pa'i bar do* do appear in all traditions and texts, a *chos ñid bar do* appears to be a late development, not present in all of them. The (*bKa' rgyud pa*-)*siddha*-s, for instance, do not distinguish a *chos ñid bar do* (notwithstanding the reference to a *chos ñid bar do* in one of *Nā ro pa*'s biographies, which does not seem to pertain to a separate *bar do* there). The *Bar do lña'i no sprod* from the *Ka dag rañ 'byuñ rañ śar*-cycle does not mention a *chos ñid bar do* either.

The (*bKa' rgyud pa*-)*siddha*-s seem to represent a separate strand, they do not discuss a *chos ñid bar do* and are very much focusing on *rtsa rluñ-yoga*. *rDzogs chen*-texts like the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* and dependants (the *Ži ba bar do lam gyi mishan ñid* in the (*mKha'* '*gro yañ thig* of the) *sÑin thig ya bži*, the *Bar do spyi'i don*, and later presentations like Sogyal Rinpoche (1992)) represent another line; they feature a *chos ñid bar do*, mention a *ži khro-maṇḍala*, but do not spell it out completely, they rather focus on general experiences of luminosity. The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is the main source of yet another strand of speculation featuring a *chos ñid bar do* including a full description of the (*kar gliñ*) *ži khro*. It apparently shares some (source-)material with the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* but on the whole appears as a different and independent strand; the identification of the shared sources requires more research. The *gSañ ba ye śes kyi mkha'* '*gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dañ pho ba'i man ñag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs* is directly derived (largely by copying) from the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. The late '*ja' tshon ži khro* as extant in for instance the *Ži khro ñes don sñin po* seem to be adapted from the *kar gliñ ži khro*.

The "Bon"-*rDzogs chen*-text *rDzogs pa chen po žar žuñ sñan rgyud las sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*, has some points of similarity with the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* but does not as much as mention a *ži khro-maṇḍala*, here descriptions of experiences of luminosity are dominant. The "Bon"-*ži khro*-texts, the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo* and *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol gyi thos grol las byañ bag chags rañ grol do* feature a *ži khro-maṇḍala*, but one that diverges strongly from the *kar gliñ ži khro*, showing only a few more general similarities. The rest of these two almost identical "Bon"-*bar do thos grol*-texts, too, stands out rather distinctly from the other material mentioned, with the sole and remarkable exception of a prayer for rescue that they in part share with the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (and the *Bar do 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam*). A possible origin of the prayer shared in *Amidist* literature inspires further investigation. If it is true that the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* on the one hand and the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* (and *Ži khro bar do 'phrañ grol*) on the other hand do share sources with the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, then the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, for which an eighth-century-origin is claimed, but for which only a fourteenth-century-provenance can be attested, would consequently have sources predating these texts.

The *kar gliñ ži khro* which appear in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* probably derive from *ži khro* extant in the *Guhya garbha*-cycle. But the *kar gliñ ži khro*- and *gSañ ba'i sñin po-maṇḍala*-s are not identical, and some development seems to have taken place. Intermediate stages can be reconstructed from the several *maṇḍala*-s present in *Na rag don sprug(s)*-texts and related literature. It does seem likely that the closest relative, read: ancestor, of the *kar gliñ ži khro*, was probably similar to a *maṇḍala* as it

is still extant in, for instance, the *Āi khro sgyu 'phrul*, and was at some time adapted from one of this class of confession- and purification-texts and inserted into the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

The class of *Na rag don sprug(s)*-texts might be influenced by confession- and expiation-*tantra-s* from the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*-cycle, a relation which needs further investigation.

The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* appears to be a composite text that shows many signs of editing and probably incorporates material from various sources, some of which it shares with other, related texts, the shared sources most probably were incorporated independently by the several texts. There is some evidence of influences from *Mahāyoga*-, *Anuyoga*- and *rDzogs chen*-theory and practice. The identification of the sources from which these doctrines and practices were incorporated requires further research. Several independent pieces of evidence suggest that the (*kar glin*) *āi khro-maṇḍala* was at some time inserted at a point in theory where general experiences of luminosity (which in some form or other appear in all *chos ñid bar do*-texts) are described. The arising of the *maṇḍala* no doubt refers to the re-arising/emerging of all the sensory and other mental faculties as well as mental attitudes and dispositions, a process which we also find briefly described as the formation of a mental body of habitual tendencies. The reason for an elaboration on this point most probably lies in the fact that the functionality of at least the *skandha vijñāna* was thought to be required in order to enable any experience of or in a *bar do*, while this very *skandha vijñāna* at the same time was involved in an unsatisfactory conflux of theories. First there was the theory concerning some kind of "dissolution" of the *skandha-s* of a person at death, the conventional person was generally conceived of as a mere temporary agglomeration of *skandha-s* that were characterised as, amongst others, impermanent, but there also was a notion of continuity through death (and an intermediate state) that adhered to one of these *skandha-s*, to wit, *vijñāna*. In short, the reason might lie in the awkward double-rôle of *vijñāna*, wearing two rather different hats, as at death and in an intermediate state it at the same time appears as a factor of transience and continuity.

The fact that, when inserting the *maṇḍala*, *Mahāyoga*-based language is used in a context in which *rtsa rluñ*-terminology seems to dominate, has most probably its cause in the capability of "deity-yoga" to represent a sophisticated level of quantitative detail. The combination of "deity-yoga" and *rtsa rluñ*-yoga moreover suggests an affinity with practices that developed in *Anuyoga*, in which these two forms of *yoga* appear in conjunction (the last being more in focus in this *yāna*). This last indication presents another clue for further identification of the character and global dates of the sources drawn upon.

Traditional "interpretations" quite unanimously point towards interpreting the several deities as diverse aspects of what is conventionally and no doubt rather imprecisely conceived of as the (human) "mind", the sum of all mental processes and possibilities. But there is little probability that the description of the *maṇḍala* in that very form and order can be considered as a report of actual experiences of these (mainly) mental factors. The *kar glin āi khro* rather seem to be an idealised summary of *tantric* theory and expertise in this field, which of course, since this expertise will at least partly be based on experiences gained from certain *tantric* visualisation-practices, may still have a basis in reported experiences of some sort.

The general references to experiences of (patterns of) light and colour, however, do have parallels in actual reports from other fields of research and other cultures, some of which, like for instance those that result from deprivation-experiments, make the possibility of an actual experience of these abstract patterns of light and colour (at some point, not necessarily after death) seem quite acceptable.

Though the reports pertaining to a *chos ñid bar do* in, for instance, the '*das log*-stories in a biography of *Saṅs rgyas chos 'dzom*⁴⁰¹ have several features in common with descriptions in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, the actual overlap is rather poor, the order of appearance of the *maṇḍala*-s mentioned in these reports moreover agrees better with the order in the *Bar do spyi'i don* than with that in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

Parallel accounts obtained from people in the "West" that reported a near-death-experience (most research seems to have been conducted in the United States of America) and obtained by guiding the imagination of, again, mainly American subjects in hypnotic regression to a purported period between two consecutive lives are remarkably consistent among themselves and with each other, but, even though some common features do emerge (like references to experiences of light and some kind of a subtle body), on the whole do show little similarity to the descriptions of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* or reports of '*das log*-s.

⁴⁰¹ The *rJe btsun spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa 'das log saṅs rgyas chos 'dzom gyis žag bdun mar dmyal khamṣ daṅ yar žin khamṣ bcas mjal ba'i lo rgyus rnam thar khyad par can*.



A *maṇḍala* of peaceful and wrathful deities (Tibet, nineteenth century AD)

Appendix I, Bibliographies of Tibetan Texts on *Ži khro* and *Bar (ma) do*

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Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on *Źi khro* and *Bar do*

- I⁴⁰² *Bar do'i thos grol*, The Tibetan Book of the Dead, by the Great Acharya Shri Sing-ha, Varanasi 1969.
- II *Bar do thos grol*, a block-print of Lama Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa in Rikon/ZH, identical with the block-print of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.
- III *Zab chos Źi khro dgoṅs pa rañ grol las sku gsum bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi gsol 'debs dug gsum spañ rañ grol*, a block-print from India, o.O. and o.J..
- IV *Źi khro dgoṅs pa rañ grol gyi chos skor*, a collection of *gter ma* of *Kar ma gliñ pa*, 2 volumes, o.O. and o.J..
- V *Bar do thos grol*, a block-print from Ngari (in Bonn), identical with *Bar do thos grol* VOHD XI,7; Nr.421.10; sign.: Libr. tibet.128, the block-print in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin".
- VI *Zab chos Źi khro dgoṅs pa rañ grol las bar do thos grol gyi skor*, a reduced reprint from an Indian block-print, o.O. and o.J..
- VII *Kar ma gliñ pa'i Źi khro dgoṅs pa rañ grol gyi chos skor*. A Collection of *Źi khro* Texts Revealed by *gter ston Kar ma gliñ pa*, 3 volumes, reproduced from a manuscript-collection from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche, Gangtok 1975.
- VIII List of a *Bar do thos grol*-collection by Campbell in Evans-Wentz and Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead or the After-Death Experiences on the Bardo Plane*, London 1960 (1927).
- IX *Bar do thos grol*, a photocopy of a MS. in the India Office Library (in Bonn), Lhasa K25 I-IV, Denwood Nr.520.
- X Three incomplete *Bar do'i thos grol chen mo*-cycles (of the same printing-blocks) in the J. v. Manen-collection, in the library of the Kern Institute Leiden, the 2740/H-series is listed under the abbreviated registration numbers (2740/H# in the catalogue by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1953)).
- XI Recent block-print of a *Kar gliñ Źi khro*-cycle containing twelve texts (ten titles) kept at the Kern Institute in Leiden (systematic catalogue 28.452.4 = XL.1237, title-page different).
- XII Recent Chinese edition of a block-print of a *Kar gliñ Źi khro*-cycle containing forty-seven texts (private copy); *si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khañ gis bskrun nas bkraml si khron can yi'u par 'debs bzo grvas dpar*, ISBN7-5409-0259-0/B.9.
- XIII Miscellaneous *Źi khro dgoṅs pa rañ grol*-block-prints in the J. v. Manen-collection, in the library of the Kern Institute Leiden, in contradistinction to X listed under the list-numbers (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953).
- XIV Several *Źi khro dgoṅs pa rañ grol*-cycles and texts in XL.1232-1236, and 1238.
- XV *Źi khro dgoṅs pa rañ grol gyi chos skor*, volumes II and III in XL.1239-1240.
- XX Miscellaneous texts from the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* (edited by Suzuki, D.T., (1956), *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, Peking Edition, Tokyo/Kyoto 1956).
- XXI Miscellaneous texts from the *rñiñ ma'i rgyud 'bum* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).
- XXII Miscellaneous texts from the *Bai ro rgyud 'bum* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).

⁴⁰² Numbers I-IX adapted from Back (1987), pp.103-113.

- XXIII Miscellaneous texts from the *sÑin thig ya bži* by *Klon chen pa dri med 'od zer* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).
- XXIV Block-prints in the cycle *Kun tu bzañ po'i dgoñs pa zañ thal*, the microfilms of which are preserved in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin" listed under the abbreviated catalogue-number (Nr.# in the catalogue by Shuh et al. (1985)), also in XL.2116-2120.
- XXV Block-prints in the cycle *Ka dag rañ 'byuñ rañ śar*, the microfilms of which are preserved in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin" listed under the abbreviated catalogue-number (Nr.# in the catalogue by Shuh et al. (1985)), also in XL.2116-2120.
- XXVI Block-prints in the cycle *mKha' 'gro gsañ ba ye śes kyi rgyud*, the microfilms of which are preserved in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin" listed under the abbreviated catalogue-number (Nr.# in the catalogue by Shuh et al. (1985)). This *gter ma*-cycle is extant in the library of the Kern Institute in Leiden (no systematic catalogue-number), it is a xylographic reprint of block-prints from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche.
- XXVII Miscellaneous texts from the *gTer 'byuñ chen mo* by *Ratna gliñ pa (Rin chen dpal bzañ po)* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).
- XXVIII Miscellaneous texts from the *gDams riag mdzod* by *Koñ sprul blo gros mtha' yas* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the entry-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).
- XXIX The *Rin chen gter mdzod* by *Koñ sprul blo gros mtha' yas*, Thimpu-edition (xylographic reprint) by Dilgo Khyentse in Paris, older xylographic edition in London (SOAS), block-prints in Kolmaš, J. (1971), Vol.II. References to systematic library-numbers as in Kolmaš, J. (1971) based on the *dPal spuñs*-prints, Wiesbaden (1971); bracketed chapter and page-indications as in the IASWR-microfiche-edition of the *mKhyen brtse*-edition based on the *sTod luñ mtshur phu*-redaction supplemented with texts from the *dPal spuñs*-redaction and other manuscripts.
- XL Miscellaneous texts in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the entry-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983 & 1988).
- XLI Miscellaneous texts in the J. v. Manen-collection, in the library of the Kern Institute Leiden, in contradistinction to X listed under the list-numbers (Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1953)).
- XLII Miscellaneous texts referred to in D.I. Lauf, *Geheimlehren tibetischer Totenbücher, Jenseitswelten und Wandlung nach dem Tode, ein west-östlicher Vergleich mit psychologischem Kommentar*, Freiburg 1977 (1975), chapter VIII.1 A, pp.269f..

N.B. the often recurring introductory formula: (*zab chos*) (*ži khro*) *dgoñs pa rañ grol (las/gyi/gyis)*⁴⁰³ and the concluding: (*ces/ žes bya ba*) *bžugs sol bžugsol bžugs sho* are omitted! Regarding the complex nature of the Tibetan titles, capitals are not used in the transliterated titles.

⁴⁰³ Indicated by an "*" preceding the source-indication; I could not check collections VII, VIII, and XIV, for easy reference I have nonetheless marked those texts where the formula is to be expected with an asterisk.

Kar glin 'Zi khro

Title	Collection	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
kar glin 'zi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mishams sbyor sñin po dñil ba	kar glin 'zi khro	XII.34	not yet known	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
kar glin 'zi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mishams sbyor sñin por dñil ba	kar glin 'zi khro	XIV.1236	not yet known	yes	blocks in dGon steñ bśad sgrub chos glin in Solu, Nepal
sku gsum bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi gsol 'debs dug gsum rna spañ ran grol	kar glin 'zi khro	I.1	14th AD or later?	yes	other editions in XIV.1234-1238
bskyed rim lhan thabs 'dzab dgoñs grags ston tshans dbyans bzlas ran grol	kar glin 'zi khro	XIV.1237	14th AD or later?	yes	blocks in Jo khañ ri khrod of the bDen gon in Gangtok
brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol	kar glin 'zi khro	XIV.1234	14th AD or later?	yes	
brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol 'zes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	kar glin 'zi khro	XII.18	14th AD or later?	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol 'zes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	kar glin 'zi khro	XIV.1235	14th AD or later?	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol 'zes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	kar glin 'zi khro	XIV.1236	14th AD or later?	yes	blocks in dGon steñ bśad sgrub chos glin in Solu, Nepal
brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol 'zes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	kar glin 'zi khro	XIV.1238	14th AD or later?	yes	blocks in 'Ba' ūag House in Gangtok
brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol 'zes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	kar glin 'zi khro	I.6	14th AD or later?	yes	

Title	Collection	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol zés bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags	kar glin zi khro	XI.1	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with XIV.1237
brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol zés bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1237	14th AD or later?	no	identical with XI.1, blocks in Jo khan ri khrod of the bDen gon in Gangtok
brgya phyag bsadus pa'i dbu phyogs	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1236	not yet known	yes	blocks in dGon stén bśad sgrub chos glin in Solu, Nepal
cho ga sdig sgrib maam par sbyon ba	rin chen gter mdzod chen mo, kar glin zi khro	XXIX.4.189-281	not yet known	yes	
chos nīd bar do'i khrid yig mthoñ ba ran grol gyi ño sprod car phog khyer bde ba zig	rin chen gter mdzod chen mo, kar glin zi khro	XXIX.4.147-187	not yet known	yes	
chos nīd bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	kar glin zi khro	I.2	14th AD or later?	yes	
chos nīd bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	kar glin zi khro	X.12.2	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with X.19.2 and X.187.2
chos nīd bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	kar glin zi khro	X.187.2	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with X.12.2 and X.19.2
chos nīd bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	kar glin zi khro	X.19.2	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with X.12.2 and X.187.2
chos nīd bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	kar glin zi khro	XI.10	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with XL.1237, title-page different
chos nīd bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1237	14th AD or later?	no	identical with XI.10, title-page different, blocks in Jo khan ri khrod of the bDen gon in Gangtok
chos nīd bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1233	14th AD or later?	no	blocks in Gemur Monastery in Gar zwa
chos spyod bag chags ran grol	kar glin zi khro	X.187.7	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with X.19.6

Title	Collection	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	kar glin zi khro	X.19.6	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with X.187.7
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	kar glin zi khro	XII.3	14th AD or later?	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	kar glin zi khro	XIII.662	14th AD or later?	yes	
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1232	14th AD or later?	yes	blocks in G-yin druñ Monastery
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1233	14th AD or later?	yes	blocks in Gemur Monastery in Gar zwa
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1235	14th AD or later?	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	kar glin zi khro	XLI.663.Br.79/H230	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with XIII.663.Br.79/H261
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	kar glin zi khro	XLI.663.Br.79/H261	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with XIII.663.Br.79/H230
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	kar glin zi khro	I.7	14th AD or later?	yes	
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	kar glin zi khro	XI.8	14th AD or later?	no	identical with XIV.1237
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1234	14th AD or later?	yes	
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1236	14th AD or later?	yes	blocks in dGoñ ston bsad sgrub chos glin in Solu, Nepal
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1237	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with XI.8, blocks in Jo Khan ri khrod of the bDen gon in Gangtok
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	kar glin zi khro	XIV.1238	14th AD or later?	yes	blocks in 'Ba'ñag House in Gangtok

Title	Collection	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
'chi ltas mtshan ma ran grol legs par (bōzugs so)	kar glin'zī khro	I.9	14th AD or later?	yes	other editions in X.12.9=187.9, XI.4=XI.V.1237, XIV.1233, 1237=XI.4
'chi bslu zab mo	kar glin'zī khro, rdzogs pa chen po'i lo rgyus mdo byañ po ti smug chut	I.10	not yet known	yes	other editions in XI.3, =XIV.1237?, v. also X.12.14=187.14, XIV.1233
ñams chag sdig sgrub thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug	kar glin'zī khro	XII.24	12th AD	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript, Ñaṅ ral fi ma 'od zer (short) version
ñams chag sdig sgrub thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprugs	kar glin'zī khro	XIV.1236	12th AD (core)	yes	blocks in dGoñ steñ bśad sgrub chos glin in Solu, Nepal, extended version
brags grol phuñ po ran grol gyi don bśdus ran grol stñin po	kar glin'zī khro	I.5	14th AD or later?	yes	other editions in XI.6=XIV.1237, XIV.1234, 1236, 1237=XI.6, v. also XIV.1233
zī khro 'dus pa'i las byañ risal 'phreñ tshor ba ran grol	kar glin'zī khro	XII.6	not yet known	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
zī khro 'dus pa'i las byañ rtsar 'phreñ tshor ba ran grol	kar glin'zī khro	XIV.1235	not yet known	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
zī khro 'dus pa'i las byañ risar 'phreñ tshor ba ran grol	kar glin'zī khro	XIV.1236	not yet known	yes	blocks in dGoñ steñ bśad sgrub chos glin in Solu, Nepal
zī khro'i klon bśags brjod pa ran grol	kar glin'zī khro	X.12.15	14th AD or later?	yes	
zī khro'i klon bśags brjod pa ran grol	kar glin'zī khro	XI.2	14th AD or later?	yes	
zī khro'i klon bśags brjod pa ran grol	kar glin'zī khro	XII.23	14th AD or later?	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
zī khro'i klon bśags brjod pa ran grol	kar glin'zī khro	XIII.665	14th AD or later?	yes	
zī khro'i klon bśags brjod pa ran grol	kar glin'zī khro	XIV.1233	14th AD or later?	yes	blocks in Gemur Monastery in Gar zwa

Title	Collection	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
zi khro'i klon bśags brjod pa ran grol	kar glin' zi khro	XIV.1236	14th AD or later?	yes	blocks in dGon steñ bśad sgrub chos glin in Solu, Nepal
zi khro'i klon bśags brjod pa ran grol	kar glin' zi khro	XIV.1237	14th AD or later?	no	identical with XI.2, blocks in Jo khañ ri khrod of the bDen goñ in Gangtok
zi khro'i klon bśags brjod pa ran grol	kar glin' zi khro	XIV.1238	14th AD or later?	yes	identical with XIV.1237, blocks in 'Ba' ñag House in Gangtok
zi khro'i klon bśags ñams chag ran grol gyi cha rkyen gyi bśkañ bśdus	kar glin' zi khro	XIV.1234	14th AD or later?	yes	
zi khro'i sgo nas phuñ po sreg sbyoñ bya ba'i lag len	kar glin' zi khro	XIV.1234	not yet known	yes	
zi khro'i mdun bskyed śin tu bśdus pa snod bcud ran grol	kar glin' zi khro	XIV.1234	not yet known	yes	
rigs drug gnas 'dreu	kar glin' zi khro	XIV.1234	not yet known	yes	
rigs drug gnas 'dren	kar glin' zi khro	XIV.1236	not yet known	yes	blocks in dGon steñ bśad sgrub chos glin in Solu, Nepal
rigs drug gnas 'dren ñiñ bśdus sgrigs chags	kar glin' zi khro	XIV.1235	not yet known	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
rigs drug gnas 'dren bśdus pa	kar glin' zi khro	XII.42	not yet known	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
las byañ bśdus pa	kar glin' zi khro	XIV.1235	not yet known	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
sabs rgyas ñañ byañ chub sems dpa' ñams ra mda' 'sprañ pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa ran grol ñañ bar do'i risa tshug ñañ bar do' phrañ grol ñañ bar do' 'jigs skyobs ma beas	kar glin' zi khro	I.4	14th AD or later?	yes	v. also X.12.3, 19.3, 187.3, XI.9, bar do 'phrañ grol gyi smon lam also in XII.47, XIV.1233-1237
sridd pa bar do'i no sprod gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	kar glin' zi khro	I.3	14th AD or later?	yes	other editions in XI.5, =XIV.1237, v. also X.12.6, XIV.1233

bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur

Title	Author (Date)	Collection	Compiler (Date)	Code Text/Fiche	Date Composition	Remarks
dkyil 'khor spyi'i rim pa	Surabhadra	bstan 'gyur	Dharmasribhadra and Rig pa gzon nu translators	PTT.76.284.1.6-291.3.1	not yet known	
rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsañ ba'i sñin po'i 'grel pa	sGegs pa rdo rje (Lilavajra)	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.82.248.1.5-279.4.7	10th-12th AD?	
ñan soñ thams cad yoiñ su sbyon ba	not yet known	bka' 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.7.198.4.2-7	not yet known	identical with PTT.11.(638)
ñan soñ thams cad yoiñ su sbyon ba z'es bya ba'i cho ga'i bya ba mdor bsdu pa	Kun dga' sñin po (Ānandagarbha)	bstan 'gyur	Anantaparabha	PTT.77.27.1.5-29.5.1	12th AD?	
ñan soñ thams cad yoiñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po brtags pa snar ba'i rgyan	Suvidyākaraśānti and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.76.202.1.3-237.1.1	not yet known	
ñan soñ thams cad yoiñ su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa	Kun dga' sñin po (Ānandagarbha)	bstan 'gyur	Buddhaśrīśānti and Rin chen bzai po translators	PTT.77.6.5.3-12.5.1	08th AD?	
ñan soñ thams cad yoiñ su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa	Saṅs rgyas gsañ ba (Buddhaguhya)	bstan 'gyur	Saṅs rgyas gsañ ba, Mañjuśrīvarman, and Bran ka Mu ti translators	PTT.77.12.5.1-16.5.5	08th AD?	
ñan soñ thams cad yoiñ su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po'i sgrub thabs	Kun dga' sñin po (Ānandagarbha)	bstan 'gyur	Smṛtjñānakīrti	PTT.76.291.3.1-297.2.5	12th AD?	

Title	Author (Date)	Collection	Compiler (Date)	Code Text/Fiche	Date Composition	Remarks
nian soñ thams cad yonīs su sbyon ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg dkyil' khor gyi cho ga	Dharmakīrti	bstan 'gyur	Ārya Dharmapāla and dGe ba'i blo gros translators	PTT.77.16.5.5- 27.1.5	11th AD?	
nian soñ sbyon ba 'gro ba rigs drug gi cho ga	'Jam dpal bśes gñen (Mañjuśrimitra)	bstan 'gyur	Suvajra and Chos kyi śes rab translators	PTT.75.139.5.1- 140.2.4	08th AD?	
nian soñ sbyon ba'i don gyi 'bru 'grel	gSañs rgyas gsañ ba (Buddhaguhya)	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.76.15.3.2- 52.2.7	08th AD?	
nian soñ las sgröl ma'i sgrub thabs	Grags pa rgyal mtshan	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.81.4.1.4- 42.5	not yet known	
bcom ldan 'das de bñin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yan dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yonīs su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i mam par bśad mdzes pa'i rgyan	rDo rje go cha (Vajravarmān)	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.76.105.1.1- 202.1.3	not yet known	
chos drug gi man nag	Tilli pa (Tailapāda)	bstan 'gyur	Nāro pa and Chos kyi blo gros translators	PTT.82.34.4.2- 35.1.1	10th-11th AD	
chos drug rdo rje tshug rkañ	not yet known	bstan 'gyur	Ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro ma and Gñan darma blo gros translators, revised by Rin'chen bzan po	PTT.82.37.1.1- 5.6	10th-11th AD extant	
thabs lam gtum mo sgom pa	Ye śes mkha' 'gro	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.82.60.4.6- 5.5	not yet known	
de bñin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yan dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yonīs su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba'i brtag pa'i bśad pa	Sañs rgyas kun dga' sñin po (Bud- dhanandagarbha)	bstan 'gyur	Kumārakalāśa and Kluñpo cchos brtson translators	PTT.76.202.1.3- 237.1.1	not yet known	

Title	Author (Date)	Collection	Compiler (Date)	Code Text/Fiche	Date Composition	Remarks
de bñin gśegs pa dgra boom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yoiñs su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i rlog pa	not yet known	bka' 'gyur	Śāntigarbha and Jaya- rakṣita translators, revised by Rin chen mchog	PTT.5.83.2.1- 99.5.2	not yet known	
de bñin gśegs pa dgra boom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yoiñs su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtogs pa phyogs geig pa	not yet known	bka' 'gyur	Devendradeva, Māñika- śrījñāna, and Chos rje dpal tr anslators	PTT.5.99.5.2- 121.5.4	not yet known	
dpal ñan soñ thams cad yoiñs su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga thugs rje'i 'phreñ ba	Kun dga' sñiñ po (Ānandagarbha)	bstan 'gyur	Kireñākaravara and Khyungrags translators	PTT.76.297.2.5- 77.1.1.6	12th AD?	
dpal ñan soñ thams cad yoiñs su sbyon ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga	Kun dga' sñiñ po (Ānandagarbha)	bstan 'gyur	Kanakavarman and Rin chen bzai po translators	PTT.77.1.1.6- 6.5.3	12th AD?	
dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa(i) rgya cher bsad pa'i 'grel pa	Ñi ma'i señ ge'i 'od (Sūryasinhaprabha)	bstan 'gyur	Prasvalata and Padma- ruche translators	PTT.83.1.1.1- 70.3.7	not yet known	
dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid rnam par ñes pa	not yet known	bka' 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.10.1.1.3- 9.4.3	not yet known	
dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i don bsdus 'grel piñdārtha	Vimalamitra	bstan 'gyur	Vimalamitra, Rin chen mchog, and Jñāna- kumāra translators	PTT.83.177.1.1- 188.4.6	08th AD?	
dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i rim pa gñis kyi don	Intrabhadhi (Indrabhūti)	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.83.262.2.4- 3.6	09th AD?	
'phags pa ñan soñ thams cad yoiñs su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po ñes bya ba cho ga žib mo'i rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel pa	Kāmadhenu pa	bstan 'gyur	Vinayacandra and Chos kyi śes rab translators	PTT.76.52.2.7- 105.1.1	09th AD or earlier	

Title	Author (Date)	Collection	Compiler (Date)	Code Text/Fiche	Date Composition	Remarks
rtsa kha 'byed pa'i man nag	Ni gu ma (11th AD)	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.82.60.3.2-6	11th AD	
rtsa rlun gi sgo nas mal 'byor gyi spyod pa	Dombi pa	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.69.206.1.1-8	10th-11th AD	
rtsa rlun la sogs sgom pa	Ni gu ma (11th AD)	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.82.60.3.6-4.6	11th AD	
zi khwor dgyes pa dzam bha la'i sgrub thabs	'Jigs med 'byun gnas sbas pa (Abhayākara Gupta)	bstan 'gyur	Graggs pa rgyal mlshan	PTT.81.47.5.4- 48.4.7	11th AD?	
ran lus rtse yi 'khor lo	mKha' 'gro	bstan 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.82.60.5.5- 61.2.1	not yet known	
gsan ba'i stñin po de kho na nid nes pa	not yet known	bka' 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.10.36.3.7- 77.3.7	not yet known	
gsan ba'i stñin po de kho na nid nes pa'i bla ma chen po	not yet known	bka' 'gyur	not applicable	PTT.10.98.2.5- 108.4.8	not yet known	

Klon chen pa

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
khro bo bar do gnad kyi sgron me	XL.1318.1.i	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
'khrul snañ no sprod	XL.1321.1.m	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
sgron ma bzī skor	XL.1321.1.l	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
mñon gsum no sprod	XL.1318.1.hh	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
chos ñid bar do yon tan	XL.1318.1.i	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
'cti kha bar do'i gsal 'dets	XL.1318.1.k	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
bar do no sprod	XL.1318.1.m	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
bar do gnad kyi sgron me	XL.1321.1.v	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
bar do sbubs 'jug	XL.1321.1.u	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
bar do'i no sprod	XL.1318.1.gg	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
bar do'i gdanus pa 'byun ba 'dus pa 'bral ba rtags kyi rim pa	XL.1318.1.j	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
bar do'i rñtshan ñid bśad pa dañ skye gnas mams kyi rgyu bstan pa	XL.1318.1.ii	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
dbyins snañ no sprod	XL.1321.1.o	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
rñi lam sbubs 'jug	XL.1321.1.n	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
zi khro na rag doñ sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus 'gyod tshats gyi cho ga dri med bsags rgyud	Kern 28.542.40	12th AD	yes	
zi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid	XL.1318.1.h	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
gzi snañ ño sprod	XL.1321.1.j	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
zab lam bde chen rgya msho	XL.1321.1.h	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
'od gsal	XL.1318.1.n	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
'od gsal 'khor lo	XL.1321.1.i	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
'od gsal sbubs 'jug	XL.1321.1.k	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
'od gsal pra khrid	XL.1321.1.q	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
rlun drug rdo rje'i chins	XL.1321.1.f	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript
rlun sbyor ye šes drwa ba	XL.1321.1.g	14th AD or earlier	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript

rGod kyi ldem 'phru can

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
no title	XXIV 39	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
kun tu bzañ po'i dgoñs pa ye šes zañ thañ gyi sgron ma	XXIV 97	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
dgoñs pa zañ thañ gyi man ñag khug pa lha'i gdams pa	XXIV 90/1-2	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya drug gi rtsa r'lun gnad kyi man ñag	XXIV 26	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya las khrid yig	XXIV 27	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
bar do 'od gsal sgron ma	XXIV 92	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
bar do rañ snañ gi rgyud	XXIV 94	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
bar do'i lha'i ño sprod	XXIV 127	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
man ñag stñiñ gi dgoñs pa rgyud rdo rje sems dpa' gsuñs pa	XXIV 96	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mñon sum 'zi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las	XL.2111	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
rdzogs pa cten po chos ñid mñon sum 'zi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las	XL.2112	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)
rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mñon sum 'zi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las	XXIV 40	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120	(R-1779-83)

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
rdzogs pa chen po sñin thig gi man ñag khug pa lin'i gdams nag	XXIV.91	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83)	
rdzogs pa chen po dgoñs pa zan thal las rigs drug 'khor ba gnas 'dren	XXIV.43	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83)	
rdzogs pa chen po rtsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo	XXIV.20	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83)	
rdzogs pa chen po'i no sprod ñi šu rtsa gcig	XXIV.93	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83)	
rdzogs pa chen po'i rtsa rluñ gñad kyi sgron ma	XXIV.101	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83)	
ñi khro rab 'byams kyi bsñen sgrub kyi dmigs rim grub mehog ñal lun bzau po	XXIV.42	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83)	
yan gsañ bla na med pa rdzogs pa chen po rig pa ye šes rañ gsal ba'i rgyud	XXIV.83	1366 AD	yes also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83)	

Nān soñ sByon' ba

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
nān soñ thams cad yon's su sbyon' ba	XX.PTT.7.198.4.2-7	not yet known	yes	identical with PTT.1.1.(538)
nān soñ thams cad yon's su sbyon' ba zēs bya ba'i cho ga'i bya ba mdr bsdus pa	XX.PTT.77.27.1.5-29.5.1	12th AD?	yes	
nān soñ thams cad yon's su sbyon' ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po brtags pa snañ ba'i rgyan	XX.PTT.76.202.1.3-237.1.1	not yet known	yes	
nān soñ thams cad yon's su sbyon' ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa	XX.PTT.77.12.5.1-16.5.5	08th AD?	yes	
nān soñ thams cad yon's su sbyon' ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa	XX.PTT.77.6.5.3-12.5.1	08th AD?	yes	
nān soñ thams cad yon's su sbyon' ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po'i sgrub thabs	XX.PTT.76.291.3.1-297.2.5	12th AD?	yes	
nān soñ thams cad yon's su sbyon' ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga	XX.PTT.77.16.5.5-27.1.5	11th AD?	yes	
nān soñ sbyon' ba 'gro ba rigs drug gi cho ga	XX.PTT.75.139.5.1-140.2.4	08th AD?	yes	
nān soñ sbyon' ba'i don gyi 'bru 'greI	XX.PTT.76.15.3.2-52.2.7	08th AD?	yes	
nān soñ las sgröl ma'i sgrub thabs	XX.PTT.81.4.1.4-4.2.5	not yet known	yes	

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
bcom ldan 'das de bzün gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i mam par bsad mdzes pa'i rgyan	XX.PTT.76.105.1.1-202.1.3	not yet known	yes	
de bzün gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba'i briag pa'i bsad pa	XX.PTT.76.237.1.1-284.1.6	not yet known	yes	
de bzün gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i rtog pa	XX.PTT.5.83.2.1-99.5.2	not yet known	yes	
de bzün gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtog pa phiyogs gcig pa	XX.PTT.5.99.5.2-121.5.4	not yet known	yes	
dpal ñan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba'i dkylil 'khor gyi cho ga lhuḡs rje'i 'piten ba	XX.PTT.76.297.2.5-77.1.1.6	12th AD?	yes	
dpal ñan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga	XX.PTT.77.1.1.6-6.5.3	12th AD?	yes	
'phags pa ñan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba cho ga zib mo'i rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grei pa	XX.PTT.76.52.2.7-105.1.1	09th AD or earlier	yes	
zi khro ñan soñ sbyon ba'i chog sgrigs khrom dkrus gsal pa'i rgyan źes bya ba bklaḡs chog mār bkod pa	XLI.13t	13th-14th AD	yes	identical with XLI.651
zi khro ñan soñ sbyon ba'i chog sgrigs khrom dkrus gsal pa'i rgyan źes bya ba bklaḡs chog mār bkod pa	XLI.651	13th-14th AD	yes	identical with XLI.13t

Na rag Doñ sPrugs

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
bka' 'dus sñin po yid bñin uor bu las phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po ži khro'i las byah gi kha skon ru thun bñi'i bñags pa ma'i 'byor gyi spyi khros na rag doñ sprugs	XXIX.4.377-395	not yet known	yes	
ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bñags pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprug	Kern 28.452-54	12th AD	yes	identical with XL.1823, short version
ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bñags pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprug	XII.24	12th AD	yes	dbu med, reprint of manuscript, Ñan ral fi ma 'od zer (short) version
ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bñags pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprug	XL.1823	12th AD	yes	bad print, 1969 blocks in He mi rGod Isan Hermitage, identical with Kern 28.542-54, short version
ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bñags pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprug	XLI.264.Br.79/H289	12th AD (core)	yes	extended version
ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bñags pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprugs	XIV.1236	12th AD (core)	yes	blocks in dGon sten bñad sgrub citos glin in Solu, Nepal, extended version
ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bñags pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprugs	XXIX.56.171-184	not yet known	yes	
ñams chags sdig sgrib thams cad bñags pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprug	XLI.263.2740/H388	12th AD (core)	yes	identical with XLI.263.2740/H440, extended version
ñams chags sdig sgrib thams cad bñags pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprug	XLI.263.2740/H440	12th AD (core)	yes	identical with XLI.263.2740/H388, extended version

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
ñams chags bśags pa na rag don sprugs	XL1.MS1021dd	08th AD?	yes	dbu med, manuscript
rdo rje sems dpa' thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsuñs pa'i 'zi khro na rag don sprugs thabs	XXIX.5.119-151	not yet known	yes	
na rag don sprugs	XL1.372	not yet known	yes	
na rag don sprugs kyi hkrud yig zab lam snan 'byed	XL.1356	17th-18th AD	yes	dPal spruñs blocks
na rag don sprugs kyi cho ga 'khor ba kun sgröl	XL.0994	17th-18th AD	yes	Ron phu blocks in Thub bstan chos glin in Solu, Nepal
na rag don sprug skon bśags	XXIX.66.185-201	not yet known	yes	
'zi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus	XL1.336b	08th AD	yes	identical with XL1.653
'zi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus	XL1.650	08th AD	yes	
'zi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus	XL1.653	08th AD	yes	identical with XL1.336b
'zi khro na rak don sprug gi skon bśags thugs rje'i zla 'od	XXIX.5.153-187	not yet known	yes	
'zi khro na rak don sprug gi dban chog bdud rtsi'i gañ gā	XXIX.5.189-213	not yet known	yes	
'zi khro na rag don sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus 'gyod tshañs gyi cho dri med bśags rgyud	Kern 28.542.40	12th AD	yes	
'zi khro na rag don sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus 'gyod tshañs gyi cho dri med bśags rgyud	XL.1827	12th AD	yes	bad print, blocks in Bho gar Monastery

Zi khro ñes don sñin po

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
bka' 'dus sñin po yid bzin nor bu las phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po zi khro'i las byañ rgyud kun sñin khu ñes don sñin po	XXIX.4.347-375	not yet known	yes	
bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dan de'i cha lag zi khro ñes don sñin po'i las byañ don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgonis brgyan (also: yan ...)	XL.1079	16th-17th AD	yes	blocks in Khum smad so roñ mkha' 'gro rol gliñ
bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dan de'i cha lag zi khro ñes don sñin po'i las byañ don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgonis brgyan (also: yan ...)	XL.1080	16th-17th AD	yes	blocks in Me tog dpag yas in Solb, Nepal
zab chos zi khro ñes don sñin po sgo nas ran dan gzan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i lam rim 'khor ba'i mun g'zoms kun bzau thugs rje'i snañ mdzod	private copy	1718 AD edited	yes	lineage adapted to later edition
zab chos zi khro ñes don sñin po sgo nas ran dan gzan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun g'zoms kun bzau thugs rje'i snañ mdzod	XL.1416	1718 AD edited	yes	bad print, blocks in Ti nan Fortress in Gar zwa
zab chos zi khro ñes don sñin po sgo nas ran dan gzan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun g'zoms kun bzau thugs rje'i snañ mdzod	XLI.625	1718 AD	yes	bad print, titlepage missing, identical with XLI.667.2740/H194/2740/H426
zab chos zi khro ñes don sñin po sgo nas ran dan gzan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun g'zoms kun bzau thugs rje'i snañ mdzod	XLI.667.2740/H194	1718 AD	yes	bad print, identical with XLI.667.2740/H426 and XLI.652

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
zab chos zi khro nes don sñiñ po sgo nas rañ dan gžan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gžoms kun bzañ thugs rje'i snañ mdzod	XLI.667.2740/H426	1718 AD	yes	bad print, identical with XLI.667.2740/H194 and XLI.652
yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dan zi khro nes don sñiñ po'i phyag len chog sgrigs chog tu bkod pa 'ja' tshon dgonis rgyau	XL.1399	19th AD	yes	blocks in Khum bu steri che mdo snags theg mchog chos gliñ
yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las zi khro nes don sñiñ po mñon rñogs	XLI.MS1460	not yet known	yes	dbu med, manuscript

gSan ba'i sNin po

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i 'grel pa	XX.PTT.82.248.1.5-279.4.7	10th-12th AD?	yes	
dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po phyi ma	XXI.14.62-67	not yet known	yes	
dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid nes pa	XXI.14.317-415	not yet known	yes	
dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid nes pa('i) rgya cher bśad pa'i 'grel pa	XX.PTT.83.111-70.3.7	not yet known	yes	
dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid mam par nes pa	XX.PTT.10.1.1.3-9.4.3	not yet known	yes	
dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i don bsadus 'grel pin'dārtha	XX.PTT.83.177.1.1-188.4.6	08th AD?	yes	
dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i rim pa gñis kyi don	XX.PTT.83.262.2.4-3.6	09th AD?	yes	
'phags pa rtogs pa'i rgyal po sgyu 'phrul dr(w)a ba le'u ston phrag brgya pa las mshian ñid dañ rgyud thams cad luñ gi spyad pa de bñin gśegs pa thams cad kyi gsañ ba gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid nes pa le'u las sgyu 'phrul le lag	XXI.14.415-549	not yet known	yes	
gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid nes pa	XL.2104	not yet known	yes	blocks in dGon ston bśad sgrub chos glin' in Solu, Nepal
gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid nes pa	XX.PTT.10.36.3.7-77.3.7	not yet known	yes	

Title	Bibliographical Code	Date Composition	Acquired	Remarks
gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ṅid ṅes pa	XXI.14.1-61	not yet known	yes	
gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ṅid ṅes pa	XXI.14.67-317	not yet known	yes	
gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ṅid ṅes pa sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa ṅes bya ba'i rgyud	XXI.14.549-571	not yet known	yes	
gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ṅid ṅes pa'i sgyu 'phrul dr(w)a ba bla ma chen po	XXI.572-639	not yet known	yes	
gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ṅid ṅes pa'i bla ma chen po	XX.PIT.10.98.2.5- 108.4.8	not yet known	yes	

Zi khro/Bar do-Texts by Subject

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
'khor ba doñ sprugs	them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ñams chags gso ba'i skon bñags ñes pa kun sel 'khor ba doñ sprugs dkyil 'khor gyi lde mig gsal ba'i me lon	XXIX.66.261-272
'khor ba doñ sprugs	gsan shags spyi chints kyi gdams pa zab mo them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ñams chags gso ba'i skon bñags ñes pa kun sel 'khor ba doñ sprugs khyad par du 'phags pa	XXIX.66.203-259
'gro drug/ rigs drug	gsan ba ye ses kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo nas rigs drug gnas 'dren gyi cho ga kham sgsun doñ sprugs dkyil 'khor spyi'i rim pa	XXVI.149
ñan son sbyon ba	ñan son thams cad yon's su sbyon ba	XX.PTT.76.284.1.6-291.3.1
ñan son sbyon ba	ñan son thams cad yon's su sbyon ba	XX.PTT.7.198.4.2-7
ñan son sbyon ba	ñan son thams cad yon's su sbyon ba zes bya ba'i cho ga'i bya ba mdor bsdu pa	XX.PTT.77.27.1.5-29.5.1
ñan son sbyon ba	ñan son thams cad yon's su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po brtags pa snan ba'i rgyan	XX.PTT.76.202.1.3-237.1.1
ñan son sbyon ba	ñan son thams cad yon's su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa	XX.PTT.77.12.5.1-16.5.5
ñan son sbyon ba	ñan son thams cad yon's su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa	XX.PTT.77.6.5.3-12.5.1
ñan son sbyon ba	ñan son thams cad yon's su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po'i sgrub thabs	XX.PTT.76.291.3.1-297.2.5
ñan son sbyon ba	ñan son thams cad yon's su sbyon ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga	XX.PTT.77.16.5.5-27.1.5
ñan son sbyon ba	ñan son sbyon ba 'gro ba rigs drug gi cho ga	XX.PTT.75.139.5.1-140.2.4
ñan son sbyon ba	ñan son sbyon ba'i don gyi 'bru 'grel	XX.PTT.76.15.3.2-52.2.7

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
ñan soñ sbyoñ ba	ñan soñ las sgröl ma'i sgrub thabs	XX.PTT.81.4.1.4-4.2.5
ñan soñ sbyoñ ba	boom ldan 'das de bñin gśeḡs pa dgra boom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sans rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yonś su sbyoñ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po chen po'i mam par bsad mdzes pa'i rgyan	XX.PTT.76.105.1.1-202.1.3
ñan soñ sbyoñ ba	de bñin gśeḡs pa dgra boom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sans rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yonś su sbyoñ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba'i brtag pa'i bsad pa	XX.PTT.76.237.1.1-284.1.6
ñan soñ sbyoñ ba	de bñin gśeḡs pa dgra boom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sans rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yonś su sbyoñ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i rtog pa	XX.PTT.5.83.2.1-99.5.2
ñan soñ sbyoñ ba	de bñin gśeḡs pa dgra boom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sans rgyas ñan soñ thams cad yonś su sbyoñ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtog pa phiyogs geig pa	XX.PTT.5.99.5.2-121.5.4
ñan soñ sbyoñ ba	dpal ñan soñ thams cad yonś su sbyoñ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga thugs rje'i 'phren ba	XX.PTT.76.297.2.5-77.1.1.6
ñan soñ sbyoñ ba	dpal ñan soñ thams cad yonś su sbyoñ ba'i ro'i sbyin steg gi cho ga	XX.PTT.77.1.1.6-6.5.3
ñan soñ sbyoñ ba	'phags pa ñan soñ thams cad yonś su sbyoñ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba cho ga źib mo'i rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel pa	XX.PTT.76.52.2.7-105.1.1
chos drug	skyes mehog 'ba ra ba rgyal mshan dpal bzani gis mdzad pa'i bla sgrub phyag chen chos drug bcas mdor bsdu stñi por dril ba tje blo gros chos 'phel gyi zab gter ('ba ra ba'i phyag chen chos drug gter gźuñ)	XL.1362 II.B.s
chos drug	mktas sgrub mñam med dpal ldan nā ro pa'i mnam thar pa dñi med legs bsad bde chen 'brug sgra	Guenther 1963
chos drug	mktas mehog nā ro pañ chen gyi mnam thar	XLI.146c
chos drug	mktas mehog nā ro pañ chen gyi mnam thar pa dñi med legs bsad bde chen 'brug sgra źes bya ba	XLI.80
chos drug	chos drug gi man nag	XX.PTT.82.34.4.2-35.1.1
chos drug	chos drug rdo tje tshig rkan	XX.PTT.82.37.1.1-5.6

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
chos drug	chos drug rdo rje gzun ('ba ra ba'i lugs chos drug)	XL.1362.II.B.r
chos drug	chos drug bsdu pa'i zin 'bris ('brug lugs chos drug zin 'bris)	XL.1362.II.B.c
chos drug	chos drug bdud rsi nün khu'i ston 'gro dños grub myur ston (karma kam tshan chos drug ston 'gro)	XL.1361.II.B.2.i
chos drug	rje tsum mar pa lo tsā'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor mams bzugs so gu ru chos dba'i rin po che'i gter byon no	XXIX.85.51-201
chos drug	thabs lam gtum mo sgom pa	XX.PTT.82.60.4.6-5.5
chos drug	nā ro chos drug gi rtag pa don gyi bryud pa la gsol ba 'debs pa tshig nün nur bgas pa ('bri guñ chos drug bgyud 'debs)	XL.1361.II.B.2.aa
chos drug	nā ro chos drug gi zab khrid gser gyi lde mig	XL.1.395p
chos drug	nā ro'i chos drug gi dñigs skor lag tu len tshul bsdu pa rdo rje'i gsun pa bzün scms dpa' chen po kun bzun bas 'bskod pa	IASWR.LMpi.021.009.9
chos drug	nā ro'i chos drug gi dñigs skor lag tu len tshul bsdu pa rdo rje'i gsun pa bzün scms dpa' chen po kun bzun bas 'bskod pa	XL.1.677b
chos drug	dpal nā ro pa chen po'i gegs sel gzer lia'i man nag (karma kam tshan gzer lha)	XL.1361.II.B.2.m
chos drug	dpal nā ro chos drug gi khrid yig yid bzün gyi nor bu	XL.1361.II.B.2.bb
chos drug	zab mo nā ro'i chos drug gi sñams len thun chos bdud rtsi'i stün khu 'zes bya ba sgrub bgyud karma kam tshan gi don khrid (karma kam tshan chos drug)	XL.1361.II.B.2.j
chos drug	zab lam nā ro chos drug gi gsal byed spyi ciñis khrid yig dan beas pa karma pa ran byun rdo rjes mdzad pa'i chos drug gser zun mar grags so	XL.1361.II.B.2.b
chos drug	zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan	IASWR.LMpi.021.009.9

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
chos drug	zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrīd pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan	PTT.160.208.3.3-161.13.2.8
chos drug	zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrīd pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan	XL.2617
chos drug	zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrīd pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan	XL.1.677a
bar do	ghuru rad na glin pa'i mmi lam ran snañ 'khrul grol bar do gnad kyi phrañ grol zēs bya ba mdzod khañ skabs dgu pa	XL.2069.12
bar do	dgoñs pa zañ thal gyi man riag khug pa lha'i gdams pa	XXIV.90/1-2
bar do	mñon gsum ño sprod	XL.1318.1.hh
bar do	'chi kha bar do'i gsal 'debs	XL.1318.1.k
bar do	rje bisun mi la ras pa'i mam thar rgyas par phyē ba mgur 'bum	XL.1539
bar do	rje bisun mi la ras pa'i mam thar rgyas par phyē ba mgur 'bum	XL.255.2740/H57
bar do	rje bisun mi la ras pa'i mam thar rgyas par phyē ba mgur 'bum	XL.256.2740/H567
bar do	rje bisun mi la ras pa'i mam thar rgyas par phyē ba mgur 'bum	Kern 28.536.3
bar do	bar do ño sprod	XL.1318.1.m
bar do	bar do gnad kyi sgron me	XL.1321.1.v
bar do	bar do spyi'i don thams cad mam par gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me loñ	XL.2352/3
bar do	bar do sbubs 'jug	XL.1321.1.u
bar do	bar do ran snañ gi rgyud	XXIV.94
bar do	bar do'i ño sprod	XL.1318.1.gg

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
bar do	bar do'i lha'i ho sprod	XXIV.127
bar do	bar do'i gdams pa 'byun ba 'dus pa 'bral ba rtags kyi rim pa	XL.1318.1.j
bar do	bar do'i mtshan nid bsad pa dan skye gnas mams kyi rgyu bstan pa	XL.1318.1.ii
bar do	rdzogs pa chen po snin thig gi man nag khug pa lha'i gdams nag	XXIV.91
bar do	gzi sku gsum gyi mam bsag rab gsal sgron me	XL.0696
rig pa no sprod/ bar do	yan gsañ bla na med pa rdzogs pa chen po rig pa ye ses ran gsal baf rgyud	XXIV.83
rmi lam	rmi lam sbubs 'jug	XL.1321.1.n
risa rlun	rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya drug gi rtsa rlun gnad kyi man nag	XXIV.26
risa rlun	rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya las khrid yig	XXIV.27
risa rlun	risa kha 'byed pa'i man nag	XX.PIT.82.60.3.2-6
risa rlun	risa rlun mkha' 'gro gsañ mdzod cha tshañ dan mgur ma byañ khrid bcas kyi gsuñ pod	XL.1429
risa rlun	risa rlun gi sgo nas mal 'byor gyi spyod pa	XX.PIT.69.206.1.1-8
risa rlun	risa rlun la sogs sgom pa	XX.PIT.82.60.3.6-4.6
risa rlun	mtsho rgyal gyi gsuns pa'i zab lam yid bzin nor bu zas bya ba rtsa rlun gi chos skor	XL.2069.7
risa rlun	rdzogs pa chen po rtsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo	XXIV.20
risa rlun	rdzogs pa chen po'i rtsa rlun gnad kyi sgron ma	XXIV.101
risa rlun	zab lam bde chen rgya mtsho	XL.1321.1.h
risa rlun	ran lus rtsa yi 'khor lo	

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
risa rluñ	rluñ 'khrugs 'bum gyi yañ sñiñ gñin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog žags dug gi 'khor lo	XXIX.85.37-43
risa rluñ	rluñ 'khrugs 'bum gyi yañ sñiñ gñin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog žags dug gi 'khor lo'i dpe bris bea' gzi'i sog khra yod	XXIX.85.45-50
risa rluñ	rluñ drug rdo rje'i chins	XL.1321.1.f
risa rluñ	rluñ sbyor ye šes drwa ba	XL.1321.1.g
ži khro	no title	XXIV.39
ži khro	kar glin ži khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiñ po dril ba	XII.34
ži khro	kar glin ži khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiñ por dril ba	XIV.1236
ži khro	kun bzant dgonis pa kun 'dus las ži khro'i bdag dbañ	XIV.1234
ži khro	bka' bgyad gsañ ba yonis rdzogs kyi rluñ 'khor gyi lag len	XLI.MS1021gg
ži khro	bka' bgyad gsañ ba yonis rdzogs las stobs ldan rluñ gi 'khor lo	XLI.MS1021y
ži khro	bka' 'dus sñiñ po yid bzän nor bu las phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po ži khro'i smin byed ma bug sprad pa ltaš chog tu bsdebs pa kun tu bzant po'i khruis chu	XXIX.4.397-447
ži khro	bka' 'dus sñiñ po yid bzän nor bu las phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po ži khro'i las byañ rgyud kun sñiñ khu nes don sñiñ po	XXIX.4.347-375
ži khro	bka' rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dan de'i cha lag ži khro nes don sñiñ po'i las byañ don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgonis brgyan (also: yañ ...)	XL.1079
ži khro	bka' rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dan de'i cha lag ži khro nes don sñiñ po'i las byañ don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgonis brgyan (also: yañ ...)	XL.1080

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
zi khro	bka' rdzogs pa chen po yan zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus rtsa gsum zi khro sbrags sgrubs kyi las byan bltas chog tu bkod pa padma'i dgoñs rgyan	XL.1083
zi khro	sku gsum bla ma'i mla' byor gyi gsol 'debs dug gsum ma spañ rañ grol	I.1
zi khro	bskyed rim lhan thabs 'dzab dgoñs grags ston tshañs dbyañs bzlas rañ grol	XIV.1237
zi khro	khro bo bar do gnad kyi sgron me	XL.1318.1.i
zi khro	'khrul snañ ño sprod	XL.1321.1.m
zi khro	grol tig dgoñs pa rañ grol gyi chos sde zi khro'i bskyed rdzogs kyi phrin las khrigs su bsdebs pa 'od gsal stñin po	XXIX.4.283-346
zi khro	rgyal ba kun gyi yab gcig tje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyañs zi khro sprags sgrub kyi dmigs skor thun moñ ba dañ thun moñ ma yin pa ñams su len tshul sku gsum go 'phañ mthoñ bar brigod pa'i them skus bla na med pa	XL.1.112c
zi khro	rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsañ ba'i stñiñ po'i 'grel pa	XX.PTT.82.248.1.5-279.4.7
zi khro	brgya phiyag sdig sgrib rañ grol	XIV.1234
zi khro	brgya phiyag sdig sgrib rañ grol zés bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	XII.18
zi khro	brgya phiyag sdig sgrib rañ grol zés bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	XIV.1235
zi khro	brgya phiyag sdig sgrib rañ grol zés bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	XIV.1236
zi khro	brgya phiyag sdig sgrib rañ grol zés bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	XIV.1238
zi khro	brgya phiyag sdig sgrib rañ grol zés bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags	I.6
zi khro	brgya phiyag sdig sgrib rañ grol zés bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags	XL.1
zi khro	brgya phiyag sdig sgrib rañ grol zés bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags	XIV.1237

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
zí khro	brgya phyag bsduś pa'i dbu phyogs	XIV.1236
zí khro	cho ga sdig sgrub mam par sbyoñ ba	XXIX.4.189-281
zí khro	chos ñid bar do yon lan	XL.1318.1.1
zí khro	chos ñid bar do'i khrid yig mthoñ ba rañ grol gyi no sprod car phog khyer bde ba ñig	XXIX.4.147-187
zí khro	chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	I.2
zí khro	chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	X.12.2
zí khro	chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	X.187.2
zí khro	chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	X.19.2
zí khro	chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	XI.10
zí khro	chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	XIV.1237
zí khro	chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	XIV.1233
zí khro	chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	X.187.7
zí khro	chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	X.19.6
zí khro	chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	XII.3
zí khro	chos spyod bag cbags rañ grol	XIII.662
zí khro	chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	XIV.1232
zí khro	chos spyod bag chags rañ grol	XIV.1233

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
zi khro	chos spyod bag chags ran grol	XIV.1235
zi khro	chos spyod bag chags ran grol	XLI.663 Br.79/H230
zi khro	chos spyod bag chags ran grol	XLI.663 Br.79/H261
zi khro	chos spyod bag chags ran grol 'zes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	I.7
zi khro	chos spyod bag chags ran grol 'zes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	XI.8
zi khro	chos spyod bag chags ran grol 'zes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	XIV.1234
zi khro	chos spyod bag chags ran grol	XIV.1236
zi khro	chos spyod bag chags ran grol 'zes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	XIV.1237
zi khro	chos spyod bag chags ran grol 'zes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag	XIV.1238
zi khro	'chi ltaś mlshan ma ran grol legs par (b'zugs so)	I.9
zi khro	'chi bslu zab mo	I.10
zi khro	tantra thams cad kyi rtsa bar gyur pa sgyu sprul drwa ba gsan ba sñin po de kho na nīd nes pa rtsa ba'i rgyud sogs	XXI.14
zi khro	btags grol phuñ po ran grol gyi don bsdus ran grol sñin po	I.5
zi khro	thugs kyi thigs pa'i man nāg	XXI.14.639-665
zi khro	gnam chos thugs gter sñan brgyud dam pa tigs brgya'i sgrub thabs kyi lhan thabs gson byañ b'zu thabs bsdud pa'o	XXIX.66.553-560
zi khro	dpal gsan ba'i sñin po phyi ma	XXI.14.62-67
zi khro	dpal gsan ba'i sñin po de kho na nīd nes pa	XXI.14.317-415

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
zi khro	dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid nes pa(i) rgya cher bsad pa'i 'grel pa	XX.PTT.83.111-70.3.7
zi khro	dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid nam par ñes pa	XX.PTT.10.1.1.3-9.4.3
zi khro	dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i don bsduś 'grel piñzārtha	XX.PTT.83.177.1.1-188.4.6
zi khro	dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i rim pa gñis kyi don	XX.PTT.83.262.2.4-3.6
zi khro	'phags pa rtogs pa'i rgyal po sgyu 'phrul dr(w)a ba le'u ston phrag brgya pa las mshian ñid dan rgyud thams cad lunt gi spyad pa de bzün gsegs pa thams cad kyi gsañ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid nes pa le'u las sgyu 'phrul le lag	XXI.14.415-549
zi khro	bar do'i ño sprod	XL.I.MS1352
zi khro	bar do'i chos bsad thos pas maru grol	XXIX.66.501-521
zi khro	dbañ ldan zu yi rin lugs kyi zi khro'i sgrub skor (collection of 41 "Bon"-texts)	XL.0684/5
zi khro	'byun ba rñun gi cho ga bzugs pa'i dbu legs	XL.I.MS1021u
zi khro	bla ma 'jam dpal zi khro'i sa bcad dan de'i zab khrid man nag bka' brgya ma'i zin bris gza' ñi ma mthun gañ ma'i ñams len 'khyer bde bcas 'di mams la dbañ dan 'khrid rgyun ma thob pas bla bar mi bya'o	XL.I.527f
zi khro	man nag sñiñ gi dgots pa rgyud rdo rje scms dpa' gsuñs pa	XXIV.96
zi khro	rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mñon sum zi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las	XL.2111
zi khro	rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mñon sum zi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las	XL.2112
zi khro	rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mñon sum zi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las	XXIV.40
zi khro	rdzogs pa chen po zi khro bka' 'dus sñiñ po'i las byañ kun bzañ mchog gi myur lam	Kern 28.542.**
zi khro	zi khro bka' brgyad yonś rdzogs kyi dam can dgos su bsgrub pa'i thabs	XL.I.MS1021g

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
Źi khro	Źi khro sgom rim chuñ ba lhan skyes rañ grol	XLI.654
Źi khro	Źi khro sgrub skor (collection of 53 "Bon"-texts)	Zogai 614/29, v. Karmay (1977), pp.31-36
Źi khro	Źi khro nan son shyon ba'i chog sgrigs khrom dkrus gsal pa'i rgyan Źes bya ha bklags chog mar bkod pa	XLI.113t
Źi khro	Źi khro nan son shyon ba'i chog sgrigs khrom dkrus gsal pa'i rgyan Źes bya ha bklags chog mar bkod pa	XLI.651
Źi khro	Źi khro 'dus pa'i las byan rtсал 'phren tshor ha rañ grol	XII.6
Źi khro	Źi khro 'dus pa'i las byan rtсар 'phren tshor ha rañ grol	XIV.1235
Źi khro	Źi khro 'dus pa'i las byan rtсар 'phren tshor ba rañ grol	XIV.1236
Źi khro	Źi khro yons rdzogs kyi sbyin streg	XLI.MS102lii
Źi khro	Źi khro yons rdzogs sgo nas to bsreg sbyañ	XLI.MS102lji
Źi khro	Źi khro rab 'byams kyi bsñen sgrub kyi dmigs rim grub mchog Źal luñ bzañ po	XXIV.42
Źi khro	Źi khro'i klon bśags brjod pa rañ grol	X.12.15
Źi khro	Źi khro'i klon bśags brjod pa rañ grol	XI.2
Źi khro	Źi khro'i klon bśags brjod pa rañ grol	XII.23
Źi khro	Źi khro'i klon bśags brjod pa rañ grol	XIII.665
Źi khro	Źi khro'i klon bśags brjod pa rañ grol	XIV.1233
Źi khro	Źi khro'i klon bśags brjod pa rañ grol	XIV.1236
Źi khro	Źi khro'i klon bśags brjod pa rañ grol	XIV.1237

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
zi khro	zi khro'i klon béags brjod pa ran grol	XIV.1238
zi khro	zi khro'i klon béags nams chag ran grol gyi cha rkyen gyi bskan bsduś	XIV.1234
zi khro	zi khro'i sgo nas phun po sreg sbyon bya ba'i lag len	XIV.1234
zi khro	zi khro'i mdun bskyed śin tu bsduś pa snod beud ran grol	XIV.1234
zi khro	zi khro dgyes pa dzam bha la'i sgrub thabs	XX.PTT.81.47.5.4-48.4.7
zi khro	zi ba dam pa rigs brgya'i sgrub thabs	XLIMS1021z
zi khro	zi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan űid	XL.1318.1.h
zi khro	zab chos zi khro nes don sñin po sgo nas ran dañ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i lam rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzañ thugs rje'i snañ mdzod	private copy
zi khro	zab chos zi khro nes don sñin po sgo nas ran dañ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzañ thugs rje'i snañ mdzod	XL.1416
zi khro	zab chos zi khro nes don sñin po sgo nas ran dañ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzañ thugs rje'i snañ mdzod	XL.625
zi khro	zab chos zi khro nes don sñin po sgo nas ran dañ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzañ thugs rje'i snañ mdzod	XL.667.2740/H194
zi khro	zab chos zi khro nes don sñin po sgo nas ran dañ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzañ thugs rje'i snañ mdzod	XL.667.2740/H426
zi khro	yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dan zi khro nes don sñin po'i phyag len chog sgrigs cbog tu bkod pa 'ja' tshon dgoñs rgyan	XL.1399
zi khro	yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las zi khro nes don sñin po mñon rogs	XLIMS1460
zi khro	yi dam spyi yi byañ chog śi śog gson śog gañ byed kyañ 'brel tshad don ldan bde chen zhñ gi lam bzañ	XXIX.66.535-551

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
zī khro	yoñs rdzogs stobs ldan rluñ 'khor	XLI.MS1021f
zī khro	las byañ bsdus pa	XIV.1235
zī khro	gñin po rjes su 'dzin pa'i cho ga thar pa'i myur lam	XXIX.66.523-533
zī khro	samś rgyas dan byañ chub sems dpa' mams ra mda' sprañ pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa rañ grol dan bar do'i risa tshig dan bar do 'phrañ grol dan bar do 'jigs skyobs ma beas	I.4
zī khro	srīd pa bar do'i no sprod gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo	I.3
zī khro	gsaṅ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa	XL.2104
zī khro	gsaṅ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa	XX.PTT.10.36.3.7-77.3.7
zī khro	gsaṅ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa	XXI.14.1-61
zī khro	gsaṅ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa	XXI.14.67-317
zī khro	gsaṅ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa sgyu 'phrul bigyad pa zes bya ba'i rgyud	XXI.14.549-571
zī khro	gsaṅ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa'i sgyu 'phrul drt(w)a ba bla ma chen po	XXI.572-639
zī khro	gsaṅ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa'i bla ma chen po	XX.PTT.10.98.2.5-108.4.8
zī khro	hor bla ma khri yid bžin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi zī khro'i sgrub skor (collection of 51 "Bon"-texts)	XL.1071/2
zī khro na rag don sprug	bka' 'dus sñiñ po yid bžin nor bu las phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po zī khro'i las byañ gi kha skot ru thun bž'i bśags pa mal 'byor gyi spyi khnus na rag don sprugs	XXIX.4.377-395
zī khro na rag don sprug	ñams chag sdig sgrīb thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug	Kern 28.452.54
zī khro na rag don sprug	ñams chag sdig sgrīb thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug	XII.24

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
zi khro na rag don sprug	ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bsāgs pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug	XL.1823
zi khro na rag don sprug	ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bsāgs pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug	XL1.264.Br.79/H289
zi khro na rag don sprug	ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bsāgs pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprugs	XIV.1236
zi khro na rag don sprug	ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bsāgs pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprugs	XXIX.66.171-184
zi khro na rag don sprug	ñams chags sdig sgrib thams cad bsāgs pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug	XL1.263.2740/H388
zi khro na rag don sprug	ñams chags sdig sgrib thams ead bsāgs pa'i rgyal po na rag don sprug	XL1.263.2740/H440
zi khro na rag don sprug	ñams chags bsāgs pa na rag don sprugs	XL1.MS1021dd
zi khro na rag don sprug	rdo rje sems dpa' thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsunts pa'i zi khro na rag don sprugs thabs	XXIX.5.119-151
zi khro na rag don sprug	na rag don sprugs	XL1.372
zi khro na rag don sprug	na rag don sprugs kyi hkrid yig zab lam snan 'byed	XL.1356
zi khro na rag don sprug	na rag don sprugs kyi cho ga 'khor ba kun sgröl	XL.0994
zi khro na rag don sprug	na rag don sprug skon bsāgs	XXIX.66.185-201
zi khro na rag don sprug	zi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus	XL1.336b
zi khro na rag don sprug	zi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus	XL1.650
zi khro na rag don sprug	zi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag don sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus	XL1.653
zi khro na rag don sprug	zi khro na rak don sprug gi skon bsāgs thugs rje'i zla 'od	XXIX.5.153-187
zi khro na rag don sprug	zi khro na rak don sprug gi dbaṅ chog bdud rsi'i gan gā	XXIX.5.189-213
zi khro na rag don sprug	zi khro na rag don sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus 'gyod tshañs gyi cho ga dri med bsāgs rgyud	Kern 28.542.40

Main Subject	Title	Bibliographical Code
zī khro na rag dot sprug	zī khro na rag dot sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus 'gyod tshats gyi cho ga dri med bsags rgyud	XL.1827
zī khro/ 'pho ba	gsan ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i 'phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dan 'pho ba'i man nag g'i gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs	XXVI.235
'od gsal	kun tu bzan po'i dgonis pa ye śes zan thal gyi sgron ma	XXIV.97
'od gsal	sgron ma bzī skor	XL.1321.1.i
'od gsal	bar do 'od gsal sgron ma	XXIV.92
'od gsal	dbyiñs snan ŋo sprod	XL.1321.1.o
'od gsal	gzī snan ŋo sprod	XL.1321.1.j
'od gsal	'od gsal	XL.1318.1.n
'od gsal	'od gsal 'khor lo	XL.1321.1.i
'od gsal	'od gsal sbubs 'jug	XL.1321.1.k
'od gsal	'od gsal pra khrīd	XL.1321.1.q
ye śes lha	rdzogs pa chen po'i ŋo sprod ni śu rtsa gcig	XXIV.93
rīgs drug	rdzogs pa chen po dgonis pa zan thal las rīgs drug 'khor ba gnas 'dren	XXIV.43
rīgs drug	rīgs drug gnas 'dren	XIV.1234
rīgs drug	rīgs drug gnas 'dren	XIV.1236
rīgs drug	rīgs drug gnas 'dren ñuri bsdus sgrīgs chags	XIV.1235
rīgs drug	rīgs drug gnas 'dren bsdus pa	XII.42

Collections of "Bon"-Zi Khro-Texts

Collections

Title Collection

dhañ ldan zu yi rin lugs kyi zi khro'i sgrub skor (collection of 41 "Bon"-texts)

hor bla mu khri yid tzin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi zi khro'i sgrub skor (collection of 51 "Bon"-texts)

zi khro sgrub skor (collection of 53 "Bon"-texts)

Individual Texts

Title

zi khro dgeons pa kun 'dus thos chog na' grol chen po'i rgyud las rigs 'dzin tshat khros
spyi spuñs sgrub pa'i phyag bzes man nāg gnad gron byed pa'i lde miḡ gal ba'i sgron ma
rgyun khayer nar ma'i ḡans len 'phrul gyi bañ mdzod ces bya ba sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer gyis bzad
pa'o

zi ba g-yun dñun yonñs rdozgs kyi mgon rtogs tññ 'dzin gsal ba'i sgron ma

zi ba yon rdozgs kyi sgots dzaab 'phro du zai šes me lon

zi ba g-yun dñun yon rdozgs kyi mgon rtogs

khro bo no mišhar rgyas pa'i mgon rtogs bdag iññ don sgrub

spyi spuñs gsañ ba'i mdun bskyed

khro bo no mišhar rgyas pa'i 'khor lo drug pa lha rgyan gcig pa šug bstun (bskyed rim)

khro bo dñan chen gyi būng iññ don gyi bsgrub pa lha rgyan gcig pa dang fuḡs baññ gñis kyi bskyed
pa

gšan shags rgyud phyag mu 'ñg 'phreñ ba)

spyi spuñs bgyud phyag

'dzab sgron gsal ba'i sgron me)

(khus gsoł)

(phyi) nañ gšan gsm gyi 'dzab dgeons dat bcas pa'i tññ 'dzin)

don rgyud rgyas pa g-yun dñun rdozgs pa'i cha lag šog chun

(gñis pa g-yun dñun lu gu rgyud)

(gšan shags bla med kyi mchod rdzas byim rišos)

spyi spuñs kyi yig chuñ gnad sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan
gzi sgrub kyi yig chuñ gnad sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan

Compiler (Date)	Bibl. graph. Code	Date Printing	Place Printing	Folios
there are contributions as late as those by Ni ma bstan 'dzin or Ni ri šel bzin (1813-)	XL-0684/5	1975	Delhi	1238pp.
Hor pa yid tzin rgyal ba tshul khriñs (ca. 1651-?)	XL-1071/2	1975	New Delhi	1186pp.
Ni ma bstan 'dzin or Ni ri šel bzin (1813- Karmay (1977), pp.31-36	Zogai 614/29, v. 1967	1967	Delhi	963pp.

Author (Date)	Code Text/Ųfiche	Date Composition	Place Composition	Folios
Dm pa ma' grol (1149-)	SB-774.1	12-13th AD	not yet known	10pp.
Zu bñun bñan pa g-yun dñun rgyal po	SB-774.2	not yet known	not yet known	66pp.
sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-774.3	not yet known	not yet known	28pp.
Blo gross teñ ge	SB-774.4	not yet known	not yet known	49pp.
Ni ma 'bum gsal (sPa-lineage)	SB-774.5	not yet known	not yet known	31pp.
Kura chags med bñas' šis rgyal miñban	SB-774.6	not yet known	not yet known	34pp.
sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-774.7	not yet known	not yet known	46pp.
sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-774.8	not yet known	not yet known	31pp.
sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-774.9	not yet known	not yet known	15pp.
sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-774.10	not yet known	not yet known	22pp.
sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-774.11	not yet known	not yet known	7pp.
Zu bñun g-yun dñun khri 'od not yet known	SB-774.12	not yet known	not yet known	5pp.
not yet known	SB-774.13	not yet known	not yet known	6pp.
not yet known	SB-774.14	not yet known	not yet known	1p.
sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-774.15	not yet known	not yet known	6pp.
rGyal ba tshul khriñs	SB-774.16	not yet known	not yet known	33pp.
not yet known	SB-774.17	not yet known	not yet known	1p.
sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-774.18	not yet known	not yet known	7pp.
rGyal ba tshul khriñs	SB-774.19	not yet known	not yet known	48pp.
rGyal ba tshul khriñs	SB-774.20	not yet known	not yet known	13pp.

Title	Author (Date)	Code Text/Fiche	Date Composition	Place Composition	Folios
(gion rag gi fog chun) (gyad dnag bsod bskul) (bsān rgyud bar uo ūos groi gyi rig 'dzin mkha' gro'i sku bsod)	not yet known sGo tsun nā ma bsān 'dzin dbaṅ gyal ñi ri fāi bāin (=ñi ma bsān 'dzin dbaṅ gi rgyal po) (1813-)	SB-2069.15 SB-2069.16 SB-2069.17	not yet known not yet known not yet known	not yet known not yet known not yet known	1p. 3pp. 3pp.
(sgo dbye) khro bo ño mshar rgyas pa'i g-yuh dñan skabs kyi 'phren ba'i tños sgrub lha'i yañ snān (skabs) spyi spuns dbaṅ chen khro bo'i gior ma'i phyi skon nañ skon bar skon gsum (gior skyon)	not yet known not yet known not yet known Rin chen 'od zer (=sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer? v. Kamay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-2069.18 SB-2069.19 SB-2069.20	not yet known not yet known not yet known	not yet known not yet known not yet known	1p. 39pp. 27pp.
khro bo ño mshar rgyas pa'i phywa ishe dñu yet g-yah sgrub kyi mgon rtog (mgon rtogs)	Rin chen blo gros (=Bya blañ tin chen blo gros)	SB-2069.21	not yet known	not yet known	11pp.
khro bo ño mshar rgyas pa'i phywa ishe g-yañ gi bum pa'i bca' ga (rgyan bkod)	not yet known	SB-2069.22	not yet known	not yet known	7pp.
khro bo ño mshar rgyas pa'i phywa ishe g-yuh gi spyān 'dren phyag bāg	not yet known	SB-2069.23	not yet known	not yet known	5pp.
(g-yuh dñu ishe yi rien 'jug)	not yet known	SB-2069.24	not yet known	not yet known	2pp.
khro bo ño mshar rgyas pa'i phywa ishe g-yah sgrub (phywa g-yah)	rMa ston snā 'dzin (cf. rMa ston strol 'dzin (1092-))	SB-2069.25	not yet known	not yet known	17pp.
gsas mkhar khro bo dbaṅ chen bsān sgrub zin ris ud pa la'i chun po (dbaṅ chen)	not yet known	SB-782.1	not yet known	not yet known	11pp.
gsaṅ shaga spyi yi gāi thog rgyan 'bod (gāi 'beb)	not yet known	SB-782.2	not yet known	not yet known	9pp.
('pñag g-yah)	not yet known	SB-782.3	not yet known	not yet known	1p.
gsaṅ shaga spyi yi dñg phyun dah ge khod kyi 'kurus dñi spot bsat	not yet known	SB-782.4	not yet known	not yet known	24pp.
(bar phud kha bskas)	Slob dñon bsān pa 'od zer	SB-782.5	not yet known	not yet known	4pp.
shon 'gro thar cha druñ mu ha ras mdzad pa'i cha gsum (thar cha)	not yet known	SB-782.6	not yet known	not yet known	3pp.
(gsen bon ran giud)	not yet known	SB-782.7	not yet known	not yet known	5pp.
(phyi rten skos kyi bsān pa)	not yet known	SB-782.8	not yet known	not yet known	10pp.
(gior ma' gsal thim)	not yet known	SB-782.9	not yet known	not yet known	3pp.
spyi spuns gi yig chun gnad 'sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan bsān dga (bsān dga)	rGyal ba tsul khriṃs	SB-782.10	not yet known	not yet known	46pp.
gāi sgrub kyi yig chun gnad 'sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan (gāi sgrub)	rGyal ba tsul khriṃs	SB-782.11	not yet known	not yet known	13pp.
lan sgrub lñ 'dzin gnad 'sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan (lan sgrub)	rGyal ba tsul khriṃs	SB-782.12	not yet known	not yet known	38pp.
'bras sgrub kyi yig chun gnad 'sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan ('bras sgrub)	rGyal ba tsul khriṃs	SB-782.13	not yet known	not yet known	56pp.
(mchod pa mam lña)	not yet known	SB-782.14	not yet known	not yet known	1p.
khro bo dbaṅ chen gyi phyag bzēs gnad 'sgron byed pa'i ile miig (gnad 'sgron)	not yet known	SB-782.15	not yet known	not yet known	78pp.
(knan gyi fog chun) (yig chun)	not yet known	SB-782.16	not yet known	not yet known	1p.
(skyaṅ ston pa'i zab ihig go cha druñ gur can) (zab ihig)	not yet known	SB-782.17	not yet known	not yet known	6pp.
khro bo dbaṅ chen gyi gsol 'deos seti ge'i sgra dbyaṅs (gsoi 'debs)	bsān pa 'od zer	SB-782.18	not yet known	not yet known	11pp.
zi ba g-yuh dñu yonñs rdzogs su pa'i rogon rtogs (mgon rtogs)	bkra śis rgyal mshān	SB-782.19	not yet known	not yet known	31pp.
khro bo dbaṅ chen gyi snān sems bskyed rdzogs bdag nīd don sgrub (bdag bskyed)	sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Kamay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-782.20	not yet known	not yet known	44pp.
khro bo ño mshar rgyas pa'i mduñ bskyed gsal ba'i 'sgron me (mduñ bskyed)	sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Kamay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-782.21	not yet known	not yet known	32pp.
(khro bo dbaṅ chen gyi rgyud phyag mu ūg 'phren ba) (rgyud phyag)	sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Kamay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-782.22	not yet known	not yet known	6pp.

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Title	Author (Date)	Code Text/Fiche	Date Composition	Place Composition	Folios
(spyi spuhs khno bo dhan chen no mishar rgyas pa'i mshod pa'i sbyams spel) (sbyams spel)	sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karney (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190)	SB-782.23	not yet known	not yet known	7pp.
(sman phud kha bskon)	not yet known	SB-782.24	not yet known	not yet known	3pp.
(gsas mkhar rin po che zi ba g-yun druñ yonis su rdzogs pa'i phyag gi fog chuñ) (phyag)	not yet known	SB-782.25	not yet known	not yet known	6pp.
zi ba g-yun druñ yonis rdzogs kyi bñag pa'i fog chuñ (ñsags pa)	rMa ston srid 'üzin (cf. rMa ston srol 'üzin (1092-))	SB-782.26	not yet known	not yet known	4pp.
gSas mkhar rin po che spyi spuñs zi ba g-yun druñ yonis su rdzogs pa'i phrin las	rediscovered by rMa ston srol 'üzin (1092.)	Zogai 614/29.1	not yet known	not yet known	141 pp.
		Zogai 614/29.2	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.3	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.4	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.5	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.6	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.7	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.8	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.9	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.10	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.11	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.12	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.13	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.14	not yet known	not yet known	
sñan bgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgon chen mo	Dran pa'i nam mkhar' (8th AD), aMan rgyal dam pa nañ grol (1149-) (gier ston)	Zogai 614/29.15	not yet known	not yet known	86pp.
		Zogai 614/29.16	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.17	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.18	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.19	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.20	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.21	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.22	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.23	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.24	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.25	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.26	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.27	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.28	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.29	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.30	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.31	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.32	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.33	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.34	not yet known	not yet known	
		Zogai 614/29.35	not yet known	not yet known	

Title

Author (Date)

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Date Composition

Place
Composition

Folios

Zogai 614/29.36	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.37	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.38	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.39	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.40	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.41	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.42	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.43	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.44	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.45	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.46	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.47	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.48	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.49	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.50	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.51	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.52	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known
Zogai 614/29.53	not yet known	not yet known	not yet known

Literature concerning Chos drug and Bar do-s

- skyes mchog 'ba ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzan gis mdzad pa'i bla sgrub phyag chen chos drug bcas mdor bsdus sñiñ por dril ba' rje blo gros chos 'phel gyi zab gter (XXVIII.1362.II.B.s)
- mkhas sgrub mñam med dpal ldan nā ro pa'i rnam thar pa dri med legs bśad bde chen 'brug sgra (Guenther ed./trsl., 1963)
- mkhas mchog nā ro pañ chen gyi rnam thar pa dri med legs bśad bde chen 'brug sgra žes bya ba (XLI.80)
- mkhas mchog nā ro pañ chen gyi rnam thar (XLI.146c)
- mñam med dpal ldan 'brug pa'i gdams niag las sgom pa nā ro'i chos drug gi khrid kyi žal šes zab mo go bder bkod pa rmoñs mun šes byed ñi 'od (XL.4182)
- chos drug rdo rje'i gzuñ (XXVIII.1362.II.B.r)
- chos drug bdud rtsi sñiñ khu'i sñon 'gro dños grub myur stsol (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.i, XL.4156, v. 3258)
- chos drug bsdus pa'i zin bris (Evans-Wentz, 1958, XXVIII.1362.II.B.c, XL.3707)
- 'chi med tsañda li'i brgyud 'debs (XL.1354)
- jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i gzuñ 'grel rdo rje 'chañ dgoñs pa gsol bar byed pa (XL.1890)
- jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i khrid rdo rje'i theg par brgod pa'i šin rta chen po (XL.1891)
- rje btsun nā ro mkha' spyod ma'i 'pho ba'i gdams pa gsal ba'i sgron me (XL.1805)
- rje btsun mar pa lo tsā'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor rnam bžugs soll || gu ru chos dba' rin po che'i gter byon (XXIX.22.454=XXIX.85.51-201)
- rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum (Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XLI.255 (2x))
- gtum mo žag gsum ma'i dmigs rim zin bris (XLI.MS1169)
- gu ru'i thugs sgrub yañ sñiñ 'dus pa'i gsañ khrid rigs lña las' gtum mo'i khrid kyi bsgom rim gsal byed ñi zla kha sbyor bde chen chos sku mju btsugs (XXIX.20.172)
- nā ro'i chos drug gi rtag pa don gyi brgyud pa la gsol 'debs pa tshig ñuñ nur byas pa (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.a)
- nā ro'i chos drug gi dmigs skor lag tu len tshul bsdus pa rje'i gsuñ pa bžin sems dpa' chen po kun bzan bas bskod pa (XLI.677b, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)
- pañ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzan chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzan po'i gsuñ 'bum nā pa'i dkar chag' nā ro chos drug gi zab khrid gser gyi lde mig (XLI.395p)
- ni gu chos drug gi khrid yig zab don thad mar brdal ba žes bya ba bklags chog ma (XLI.14)
- ni gu chos drug rgyas pa khrid yig ye šes mkha' 'gro ma'i žal luñ (Mullin, 1982)
- dpal ldan nā ro chos drug gi khrid tig mchog gi gra chen dañ gsañ spyod zlog sgom gyi khrid yig zil non señ ge'i nā ro (not yet located, v. XLI.15)
- dpal nā ro chos drug gi khrid yig yid bžin gyi nor bu (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b¹)
- dpal nā ro pa chen po'i gegs gzer lña'i man niag (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.m)
- dpal nā ro pa'i chos drug las rtsa ba tsañda li dañ po'i las can rnam kyi bgo skal du rnam par phye ba'i zin ris skal bzan ku mu ta 'dzum pa'i zla tshes (XL.1135)
- dpal 'bri guñ pa'i lags kyi chos drug dril ba'i gdams pa (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.z)
- phag mo zab rgya'i gtum mo ras rkyan gi zin bris mdor bsdus (XLI.MS1312)
- dpal ldan šaṅs pa'i gser chos las' rtsa ba ni gu chos drug gi khrid(?) bsdus stan thog cig ma'i ñams len ye šes rja ki'i žal luñ (XXIX.20.234)

*zab mo nā ro'i chos drug gi ñams len thun chos bdud rtsi'ñiñ khu źes bya ba sgrub
brgyud karma kam tshañ gi don khrid* (XL.3258, v.XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, and
XLII.13)

*zab mo nā ro chos drug gi ñams len thun chos bdud rtsi'i'ñiñ khu źes bya ba sgrub
brgyud karma kham tshañ gi don khrid* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, v. XLII.13, and
XL.3258)

zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa (Dargyay, 1978 (1977)⁴⁰⁴)

zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan (XL.2617,
XLI.677a, PTT.160.208.3.3-161.13.2.8, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)

*zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chiñs khrid yig dan bcas pa! karma pa ran
byuñ rdo rjes mdzad pa'i chos drug gser źun mar grags so* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b)

źus len bdud rtsi gser phreñ! 'od gsal (XXIII.1318.1.n)

ñes don sñiñ pol 'od gsal 'khor lo (XXIII.1321.1.i)

ñes don sñiñ pol 'od gsal phra khrid (XXIII.1321.1.q)

ñes don sñiñ pol 'od gsal 'bubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.k)

*bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor gyi rtsa tshig rnams*⁴⁰⁵ (XL.3169)

*bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor spyi'i sñon rjes kyi rim pa rnams kyi zin bris brjed byañ blo
dman dga' bskyed*⁴⁰⁶ (XL.3170)

⁴⁰⁴ By rJe Tshoñ kha pa, folios 41 vff., Gangtok (1972).

⁴⁰⁵ *Nā ro'i chos drug.*

⁴⁰⁶ *Nā ro'i chos drug.*

Specific Texts concerning 'Pho ba

- mgon po 'od dpag med la brten pa'i 'pho khrid* (Dargyay, 1978 (1977), p.100)⁴⁰⁷
pañ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzañ chos kyi rgyal mshan dpal bzañ po'i gsuñ
'bum na pa'i dkar chag' rgyal ba 'byams pa la brten pa'i 'pho ba legs pa cig
 (XLI.395u)
- 'chi mshan rtags pa dan tshe grub 'pho ba'i rnam bśad* (Mullin, 1986)
'chi med kloñ gsal rdo rje'i srog bsgrub las' 'ja' lus rdo rje'i gsañ lam 'pho ba mkha'
spyod myur lam (XLI.1145)
 (že dgu ma) *'rnam śes goñ du 'pho ba'i rgya cher bśad pa gser gyi sgo byed pa*
 (XLI.800.o)
- 'pho ba 'jag tshug ma thar lam gsal la ston* (XLI.MS1313)
dpal gar gyi dbañ phyug gsañ ba ye śes kyi (mkha' 'gro'i) 'pho ba'i man nāg mchog
lam yañ rtse XXVI.271⁴⁰⁸)
- (že dgu ma) *'pho khrid kyi rtsa tshig brtag pa brgyad pa'i rab tu byed gsum pa*
 (XLI.800n)
- bde mchog dril bu pa'i bla bryud gsol 'debs dan' dpal 'khor lo bde mchog dril bu lha*
lia'i dbañ chog bde chen sñiñ po' 'pho khrid dpa' bo gyul 'jug gyi lhan thabs zin
bris (XLI.347z)
- 'pho ba dran pa rañ grol* (Dargyay, 1978, p.199)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñ' 'pho ba (XXIII.1318.1.y¹)
- bka' rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus 'pho ba skar khuñ mda' 'phañs*
kyi rim pa (XLI.MS1029)
- bka' rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las' 'pho ba skar khuñ mda'*
'phañs kyi rim pa (XLI.MS1030)
- bka' rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las 'pho ba skar khuñ mda'*
'phañ lhan thabs gsal byed myur 'gyogs bde chen pho ña bžugs so (XLI.MS1031)
kloñ chen sñiñ thig le las 'pho ba ma bsgoms sañs rgyas (Dargyay, 1978, pp.199f.)⁴⁰⁹
gzi snañ ye śes sgron me' 'pho ba 'od gsal sñiñ po (XXIII.1316.1.r)
 ['pho ba'i man nāg] *phag chen 'phrul mdzod* (XXVI.178)
myur lam 'pho ba'i rnal 'byor dpal 'brug pa'i ñams bśes 'jags tshugs ma (XLI.604)
yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa skar khuñ mda' phañ
(XLI.MS1459)
- zab lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa 'jag tshugs ma'i lo rgyus gdams nāg khrid yig dan bcas pa*
bžugs so' ñi zla sañs rgyas gter byon (XXIX.20.655)
sñan rgyud gsañ ba'i mthar thug las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa sñiñ gi thig le (Evans-
 Wentz, 1958)
- rje bisun bla ma dgoñs can grub pa'i rdo rje'i bka' 'bum ga pa'i dkar chag' 'od dpag*
med kyi 'pho ba bka' rgya ma'i bka' zin (XLI.242bb)
- gsañ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dan pho ba'i man nāg gi*
gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs (XXVI.235)
- gsañ ye dan 'brel ba'i pho ba bklags chog ma* (XXVI.236)
- gsañ lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa las tshe 'das rnam śes spar ba'i dmigs pa* (Evans-Wentz
 1958)

⁴⁰⁷ In the Collected Works of Guñ than dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me edited by N. Gelek Demo in GSMGS Vol. XXXVIII, pp.354-369, New Delhi (1975).

⁴⁰⁸ The bracketed *mkha' 'gro'i*, was added by the authors of the catalogue (Dieter Schuh and Peter Schwieger).

⁴⁰⁹ In *sñiñ thig pod gñiñ* (two volumes) of *gnas chuñ grva tshañ*, Vol.I, pp.4ff.

Tibetan Sources on *Źi khro* and *Bar do-s*, General List

- kar glin Źi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiñ po dril ba* (XII.34)
kar glin Źi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiñ por dril bal phan mtha' yas pas
bris pa (*XIV.1236)
kun tu bzañ po'i dgoñs pa zañ thal du bstan pa'i rtsa rgyud (XXIV.84)
kun tu bzañ po'i dgoñs pa ye šes zañ thal gyi sgron ma (XXIV.97)
kloñ bśags brjod pa rañ grol (*IV.1.24, *XIV.1234)
dkar chag (IV.2.17,18, VI.1, XII.1)
dkyil 'khor drug gi cho ga (XX.PTT.79.174.2.3-184.1.2)
dkyil 'khor spyi'i rim pa (XX.PTT.76.284.1.6-291.3.1)
sku gsum bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi gsol 'debs (*III.1)
sku gsum bla ma'i <rnal 'byor gyi> gsol 'debs dug gsum ma spañ(s) rañ grol (*I.1⁴¹⁰,
 *III.1, *IV.1.3, *VI.2, *VII.2.12, *XII.26⁴¹¹, *XIV.1234,1235,1236⁴¹²-1238)
sku gsum gsol 'debs kloñ yañ s rañ grol (*XII.4, *XIV.1234,1236)
skoñ bśags (*XIII.MS1446)
skoñ bśags ñams chag rañ grol gyi thugs dam bskañ ba'i rim pa rnams (*IV.1.25,
 *XIV.1235)
skoñ bśags ñams chags rañ grol gyi dbañ bskur gnas spar 'gro drug rañ grol
 (*VII.1.8)
skoñ bśags ñams chags rañ grol lasl dbañ bskur gnas spar 'gro drug rañ grol
 (*XIII.1445c)
skoñ bśags ñams chags rañ grol lasl dbañ gi sñon 'gro lhan grubs zin bris
 (*XIII.1445c)
skye šī bar do'i rnam bžug (Lati Rinbochay, 1979)⁴¹³
skyes mchog 'ba ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ gis mdzad pa'i bla sgrub phyag chen
chos drug bcas mdor bsdus sñiñ por dril bal rje blo gros chos 'phel gyi zab gter
 (XXVIII.1362.II.B.s)
bskañ bsdus (XIV.1238)
bskañ ba ñams chag rañ grol gyi bskyed rim sñon 'gro'i lhan thabs (*XIV.1235)
bskañ bśags ñams chags rañ grol gyi sñon 'gro lhan thabs (*IV.1.4, *VII.1.13)
bskañ bśags ñams chag rañ grol gyi cha lag tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug rañ grol
 (*IV.2.5, *XIV.1234)
bskañ bśags ñams chag rañ grol gyi thugs la bskañ ba'i rim pa (*XII.27)
bskañ bśags ñams chags rañ grol gyi thugs dam bskañ ba'i rim pa (*IV.1.25,
 *VII.1.20, *XIV.1238)
bskañ bśags ñams chags rañ grol gyi thugs dam bskañ ba'i rim pa l rgya ga ra ba nam
mkha' rgya mtshos bris (pa) (*XIV.(1234),1236)
bskyed rim sñon 'gro lhan thabs (*IV.1.4, *XIII.MS1447)
bskyed rim sñon 'gro lhan thabs l rga btsun nam mkha' chos kyi rgya mtshos bris pa
 (*XIV.1234)
bskyed rim lhan thabs 'dzab dgoñs grags stoñ tshañs dbyaṅs bzlas tshad rañ grol l
sñags 'chañ chos 'byuñ gis sbyar ba (*IV.1.13, (*XIV.1234))
kha 'bar ma nag po'i 'chi bslu bsdus pa (XL.1251)
khā hil dharma señges so (XIV.1234)

⁴¹⁰ Reading: *spañ*.⁴¹¹ Omitting: *rnal 'byor gyi*.⁴¹² Omitting: *rnal 'byor gyi*.⁴¹³ Cited from "The Collected Works of *Nag dhañ mkhas grub = Kya'i rdor mkhan po* of Urga (1779-1838) Vol.1, pp.459-474, Leh, S.W. Tashigangpa (1972).

dam chos rdzogs pa chen po ño sprod kyi skor las kham pa'i mi mo la brten nas rnam
 šes 'byuñ 'jug gnas gsum ño sprod (*VII.2.21)
 rdor sems thugs kyi sgrub pa'i khyad par gyi rdzogs rim snañ bži'i man ñag gi khrid
 yig mñon sum 'od gsal 'khor lo (XXIX.20.046)
 ñes don sñiñ po khrul snañ ño sprod (XXIII.1321.1.m)
 khrus gsol bsdus pa (XII.30)
 zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul las: khro bo dam pa bsdus pa'i lam sgrub thabs sñiñ
 por bsdus (XXIX.20.067)
 žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñ khro bo bar do gnad kyi sgron me (XXIII.1318.1.i)
 khro bo bar do gsol 'debs thos grol (XLI.4)
 khro bo'i bar do 'char tshul bstan pa (I.2, V.2, VI.4, VIII.2, X.12.2,=19.2,=187.2,
 XI.10, XIV.1233, XIV.1237=XI.10)
 žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñ mkha'gro gtum mo khyad par can (XXIII.1318.1.o)
 mkhas grub kun gyi gtsug brgyanl pañ chen nā ro pa'i rnam thar ño mtshar rmad
 byuñ (Guenther ed./trsl., 1963)
 mkhas sgrub mñam med dpal ldan nā ro pa'i rnam par thar pa dri med legs bsad bde
 chen 'brug sgra (Guenther trsl., 1963)
 mkhas mchog nā ro pañ chen gyi rnam thar pa dri med legs bsad bde chen 'brug sgra
 žes bya ba (XLI.146c)
 mkhas mchog nā ro pañ chen gyi rnam thar (XLI.80)
 'khor lo'i man ñag (XX.PTT.79.150.1.1-2.5)
 gañ zag ñams len can la thugs dam gsal 'debs su byed thabs bar do'i ño sprod kun
 bzañ žal luñ (XL.3484)
 gar gyi dbañ phyug gsañ ba ye šes kyi mkha' 'gro ma'i 'phrin las kyi le lag srog gi
 skyabs gcig ('chi ba blu ba'i cho ga) (XXV.150)
 ghuru rad na gliñ pa'i rmi lam rañ snañ 'khrul grol bar do gnad kyi phrañ grol žes
 bya ba mdzod khañ skabs dgu pa (XXVII.2069.12)
 glegs bam bzugs byañ dkar chag (*VII.1.22)
 mgon po 'od dpag med la brten pa'i 'pho khrid (Dargyay, 1978 (1977), p.100)⁴¹⁴
 'gyod tshañs rgyal po'i byuñ khuñs lo rgyus dañ bcas (VII.1.2)
 rgya btsun nam mkha' chos kyi rgya mtshos mchos bris pa (XIV.1234)
 dga' ldan lha brgya ma'i khrid yig mdor bsduñ rgyal ba kun gyi yab gcig rje btsun
 'jam pa'i dbyañs ži khro sprags sgrub kyi dmigs skor thun moñ ba dañl thun moñ
 ma yin pa ñams su len tshul sku gsum go 'phañ mthoñ bar brgod pa'i them skus bla
 na med pa (XLI.112e)
 pañ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzañ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po'i gsuñ
 'bum ña pa'i dkar chag rgyal ba 'byams pa la brten pa'i 'pho ba legs pa cig
 (XLI.395u)
 rgyal ba ži khro tshe dpag med lha bcu gsum gyi dkyil 'khor chen po sgrub ciñ mchod
 pa'i cho ga yid bžin sprin phuñ (XXIX.20.370)
 rgyas pa'i sbyin sreg gud du bstan pa'i yig chuñ (*VII.2.3)
 rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i 'grel pa (XX.PTT.82.248.1.5-
 279.5.1.1)
 mñam med dpal ldan 'brug pa'i gdams ñag las sgom pa nā ro'i chos drug gi khrid kyi
 žal šes zab mo go bder bkod pa rmoñs mun šes byed ñi 'od (XL.4182)
 sgom rim lhan skyes ye šes (*IV.1.9, *VII.1.16, *XIV.1234)
 ži khro sgom rim lhan skyes rañ grol (XIV.1234)
 sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud kyi mchan 'grel ñi zla sñiñ po (XL.1051)

⁴¹⁴ In the Collected Works of *Guñ than dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me* edited by N. Gelek Demo in GSMGS Vol.XXXVIII, pp.354-369, New Delhi (1975).

- sgyu 'phrul ſi khro rab 'byams kyi dkyil 'khor (XLII.p.100, n.75)
 sgyu ma lam gyi rim pa (XX.PTT. 82.46.5.1-51.2.3)
 sgyu ma lam gyi rim pa'i 'grel pa (XX.PTT. 82.51.2.3-60.3.2)
 sgrib sbyon (XII.21, XIV.1236)
 sgron ma drug gi no sprod ſes rig ran grol ſes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag
 (VII.3.1)
 nes don sñin pol sgron ma bñi skor (XXIII.1321.1.1)
 brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol (*III.10, *IV.2.3, *XIV.1234)
 brgya phyag sdig sgrib ran grol ſes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag(s) (*I.6⁴¹⁵,
 ~*III.10, ~*IV.2.3, *VI.12, *VII.1.17, *XI.1⁴¹⁶=XIV.1237, *XII.18,
 *XIV.1235,1236,1237⁴¹⁷=XI.1,1238)
 brgya phyag bsdu pa (XIV.1236)
 brgyud pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdu nor bu'i phren ba (*VII.1.5)
 brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs (*V.13, *VIII.13, *X.12.13,=187.13, *XIV.1233)
 brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bdud rñi'i char rgyun (XIV.1235)
 nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba (XX.PTT.7.198.4.2-7)
 nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba ſes bya ba'i cho ga'i bya ba mdor bsdu pa
 (XX.PTT.77.27.1.5-29.5.1)
 bcom ldan 'das de bñin gñegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i saññ rgyas nan
soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i
rnam par bsad mdzes pa'i rgyan (XX.PTT.76.105.1.1-202.1.3)
 nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po brtags pa snañ ba'i rgyan
 (XX.PTT.76.202.1.3-237.1.1)
 bcom ldan 'das nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po kun rig
rnam par snañ mdzad kyi cho ga'i nag 'don gyi rim pa chu 'bebs su bkod pa thabs
mkhas ded dpon (XL.3009)
 'phags pa nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po ſes bya ba cho ga
ñib mo'i rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel pa (XX.PTT.76.52.2.7-105.1.1)
 de bñin gñegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i saññ rgyas nan soñ thams cad
yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po ſes bya ba'i brtag pa'i bsad pa
 (XX.PTT.76.237.1.1-284.1.6)
 de bñin gñegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i saññ rgyas nan soñ thams cad
yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i rtog pa (XX.PTT.5.83.2.1-99.5.2)
 de bñin gñegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i saññ rgyas nan soñ thams cad
yonñ su sbyon ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtag pa phyogs gcig pa
 (XX.PTT.5.99.5.2-121.5.4)
 nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga (XX.PTT.77.6.5.3-12.5.1)
 dpal nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga thugs rje'i 'phren ba
 (XX.PTT.76.297.2.5-77.1.1.6)
 nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa
 (XX.PTT.77.12.5.1-16.5.5)
 nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po'i sgrub thabs
 (XX.PTT.76.291.3.1-297.2.5)
 dpal nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga
 (XX.PTT.77.1.1.6-6.5.3)
 nan soñ thams cad yonñ su sbyon ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga
 (XX.PTT.77.16.5.5-27.1.5)
 nan soñ sbyon ba 'gro ba rigs drug gi cho ga (XX.PTT. 75.137.5.1-140.2.4)

⁴¹⁵ Reading: lags.⁴¹⁶ Reading: lags.⁴¹⁷ Reading: lags.

- nan soñ sbyoñ ba'i don gyi 'bru 'grel* (XX.PTT. 76.15.3.2-52.2.7 (comm. 76.52.2.7-77.29.5.1))
nan soñ las grol ma'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT. 81.4.1.4-2.5)
no sprod (IV.2.14, XIV.1234)
no sprod thams cad kyi sñon 'gro dur khrod bam ro bskyal ba la bten nas mi rtag pa'i bskul bar no sprod pa (*VII.2.20)
no sprod mthoñ ba rañ grol gyi mar me no sprod kyi lhan thabs (VII.3.4)
no sprod mthoñ ba rañ grol gyi gži'i 'od gsal no sprod kyi lhan thabs (VII.3.3)
gži snañ ye šes sgron mel no sprod dran pa'i me loñ (XXIII.1316.1.s)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñ mñon gsum no sprod (XXIII.1318.1.h)
sñags(?) 'chan(?) chos 'byuñ gi sbyar(?) ba (XIV.1234)
sñags bśags sdig sgrib rañ grol (IV.2.4)
bcom ldan 'das 'jam dpal ži khro'i sñams len rgyun khyer mchog thun gyi dños grub thams cad myur du thob par byed pa'i rdo rje'i cho ga (XXIX.20.549)
cho ga thams cad kyi sñon du 'gro ba gži bdag rañ bgegs la gtor ma 'bul thabs rig 'dzin Ji ma grags pas spyar rañs pa (XIV.1236)
cho ga sdig sgrib rnam par sbyoñ ba (*XXIX.20.056=*XXIX.4.189-281)
bka' sruñ(s) dam can sde bdun chos skyoñ kun 'dus kyi mdañs bskañ gdug pa rañ grol (*IV.1.26, *VII.3.19, *XII.28, *XIII.MS1443, (*XIII.MS1445d), *XIV.1235,1236)
bka' sruñ dam can sde bdun chos skyoñ kun 'dus kyi mdañs bskañ gdug pa rañ groll nam mkha' rgya mtshos bris pa (*XIV.1234)
chos skyoñ kun 'dus dam can sde bdun gyi las byañ chuñ ba gdug pa rañ grol (XIV.1238)
chos rgyal gser gyi lag pa žes bya ba'i phyag mar me phul ba'i lo rgyus smon lam dañ bcas pa (XIV.1235)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñ chos ñid bar do yon tan (XXIII.1318.1.l)
chos ñid bar do'i khrid yig mthoñ ba rañ grol gyi no sprod car phog khyer bde ba žig (*XXIX.20.055=*XXIX.4.147-187)
chos ñid bar do'i gsa(lo)l 'debs thos grol chen mo (*I.2, *II.2, *III.2, ~*V.1, *VI.3, *VII.3.5, *VIII.1, IX.1.2, *X.12.2,=19.2,=187.2, *XI.10, *(XIV.1233), *XIV.1237=*XI.10)
chos ñid ži ba'i bar dor no sprod pa'i thos sgrol chen mo (*V.1)
chos drug gi man nag (XX.PTT. 82.34.4.2-35.1.1)
chos drug rdo rje'i gzuñ (XXVIII.1362.II.B.r)
chos drug bdud rtsi sñiñ khu'i sñon 'gro dños grub myur stsol (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.i, XL.4156, v. 3258)
chos drug bsduš pa'i zin bris (Evans-Wentz, 1958, XXVIII.1362.II.B.c, XL.3707)
chos spyod brgya phyag sdig sgrib rañ grol (XLII.2)
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol (*III.5, *IV.2.9, *V.17, *VI.11, *VIII.17, *X.19.6,=187.17, *XII.3, *XIII.662,663(2x=), *XIV.1232,1233,1235,1236)
chos spyod bag chags rañ grol žes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag(s) (*I.7, *II.5^{41*}, *VII.1.11, *VIII.17, *XI.8=XIV.1238, *XIV.1234,1237=XI.8,1238)
chos bśad (XII.32)
mchod (b)stod (XII.15, (XIV.1236))
mchod rlabs (XIV.1234)
bka' sruñ sde bdun mchod gsol mdoz bsduš pa (*IV.1.18)
žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñ 'chi kha bar do'i gsal 'debs (XXIII.1318.1.k)

^{41*} Reading: *lags*.

- 'chi ltas kyi 'chi ba'i mtshan ñid dan rtsa 'chad pa'i mdor bsdsu chen po (XX.PTT. 46.186.1.1-194.5.5)
- gzi snañ ye šes sgron mel 'chi ltas dran pa'i me loñ (XXIII.1316.1.t)
- 'chi ltas mshan ma rañ grol (*I.9, *II.7, *III.8, *V.9, *VI.15, *VII.3.8, *VIII.9, *X.12.9,=187.9, *XI.4, *XIV.1233,1237)
- 'chi ltas mtshan ma rañ grol (legs par) (*I.9)
- bde gšegs rigs lña'i sgrub thabs padma stoñ ldan! 'chi ba brtag bslu'i man ñag ñi zla gza 'bral (XXIII.1321.2.d)
- 'chi ba blu ba'i bsdsu don (XX.PTT. 86.19.2.2-5.7)
- 'chi ba blu ba'i man ñag (XX.PTT. 86.21.2.1-30.4.1)
- 'chi ba slu ba (XX.PTT. 86.121.4.1-5.7)
- 'chi ba slu ba'i gdams pa (XX.PTT. 79.130.2.5-130.4.5)
- 'chi ba'i slu ba'i sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT. 81.2.1.6-2.4)
- 'chi ba'i blu ba'i man ñag (XX.PTT. 59.103.5.2-110.3.8)
- rje btsun blo bzañ dpal ldan ye šes dpal bzañ po'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor rnam chabs gcig tu bsdebs pal 'chi blu'i skor rnam (XLI.252j)
- 'chi blu'i bsdsu don (XX.PTT. 86.19.5.7-21.2.1)
- gzi snañ ye šes sgron mel 'chi bslu dran pa'i me loñ (XXIII.1316.1.u)
- 'chi med grub pa-cycle on rtse, thig le, rluñ, sems, zla ba, etc. (XX.PTT. 87.155.2.3-161.5.2)
- 'chi med tsañda li'i bgyud 'debs (XL.1354)
- 'chi mtshan rtags pa dan tshe grub 'pho ba'i rnam bsad (Mullin, 1986)
- 'chi mtshan rtags par rañ grol (Mullin, 1986)
- 'chi slu ba'i man ñag gi sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT. 81.4.3.1-4.7)
- 'chi bslu 'jigs pa rañ grol (*V.14, *VI.16, *VIII.14, *X.12.14,=187.14, *XIV.1233)
- 'chi bslu ba'i gdams pa chu stoñ zlog gi man ñag bklag chog tu bkod pa (XXIX.22.259)
- rdzogs pa chen po'i lo rgyus las 'chi bslu zab mo (II.8, XIV.1237)
- rdzogs pa chen po'i lo rgyus mdo byañ po ti smug chuñ las 'chi bslu zab mo (I.10, ~II.8, III.9, VII.3.9, XI.3)
- 'chi b(s)lu'i skor (XIII.252)
- jo bo thugs rje chen po 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs ñan soñ rañ grol (XL.3501)
- jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i gzuñ 'grel rdo rje 'chañ dgoñs pa gsol bar byed pa (XL.1890)
- jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i khrid rdo rje'i theg par brgod pa'i śin rta chen po (XL.1891)
- rje'i rnam thar śin tu gsañ ba ño mshar rmad du byuñ ba'i gtam! 'jam dbyaṅs Źi khro sbrags sgrub thun moñ ma yin pa (XLI.261b)
- 'chi med kloñ gsal rdo rje'i srog bsgrub las! 'ja' lus rdo rje'i gsañ lam 'pho ba mkha' spyod myur lam (XLI.1145)
- rje btsun nā ro mkha' spyod ma'i 'pho ba'i gdams pa gsal ba'i sgron me (XL.1805)
- rje btsun ma yi bñin 'khor lo'i sgo nas 'chi blu dan 'brel ba'i brtan bzugs 'bul tshul 'chi med grub pa'i dga' ston (XL.2663)
- rje btsun mar pa lo tsā'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor rnam bzugs sol || gu ru chos dbañ rin po che'i gter byon (XXIX.22.454=XXIX.85.51-201)
- rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum (Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XLI.255 (2x))
- rje tshun sur ya tsan dra'i rmi lam bar do thos grol chos kyi che ba bskyed byed mtshan med rdzogs rim lhan thabs kyi skor bñi (VII.3.10)
- rje'i rnam thar śin tu gsañ ba ño mshar rmad du byuñ ba'i gtam! 'jam dbyaṅs Źi khro sbrags sgrub thun moñ ma yin pa (XLI.261b)

ñams chag(s) sdig sgrib thams cad bsāgs pa'i rgyal po na rag doñ sprug(s) (XII.24, XIV.1236⁴¹⁹, XXIX.21.251=XXIX.66.171-184, XL.1823, XLI.263⁴²⁰ (3x:Br.-79/H189, 2740/388,440), Kern 28.542.54)

bka' brgyad gsañ ba yoñs rdzogs kyi a li'i don khrid kyi gzuñl ñams chags bsāgs pa na rag doñ sprugs (XLI.MS1021dd)

rñin ma spyi'i sñon 'gro skyabs sems dañ dkar bgegs kyi gtor ma (XIV.1238)

sñan rgyud rig pa gcer mthoñ (XL.0435 ("Bon"))

bsñen yig mdor bsdus rnam grol don gsal (*VII.2.9, *XXIX.20.054)

tantra thams cad kyi rtsa bar gyur pa sgyu 'phrul drva ba gsañ ba sñin po de kho na ñid ñes pa rtsa ba'i rgyud sogs (XXI.14)

gtum mo žag gsum ma'i dmigs rim zin bris (XLI.MS1169)

gu ru'i thugs sgrub yañ sñin 'dus pa'i gsañ khrid rigs lña lasl gtum mo'i khrid kyi bsgom rim gsal byed ñi zla kha sbyor bde chen chos sku mju btshugs (XXIX.20.172)

gter kha gñis 'dus rtsa rluñ thig le'i khrid zin mdor bsdus zab don kun 'dus (XXIX.22.508)

gter bdag ma nin nag po (IV.1.19)

gter sruñ sgam po lha rtse'i mchod gsol phrin las rañ grol (*IV.1.20)

gtor dbañ reg pa don ldan (*VII.1.9, *XII.46, *XIII.MS1445b, *XIV.1236, *XXIX.20.053)

btags grol gyi skor nams (XLI.24)

btags sgrol stoñ gsal til miha' dbus dral (XLI.25)

btags grol phuñ po rañ grol (*V.7, *VI.9, *VII.3.11, *VIII.7, *XIV.1233)

btags grol phuñ po rañ grol gyi don bsdus rañ grol (*II.6)

btags grol phuñ po rañ grol gyi(las) don bsdus rañ grol sñin po(r) (*I.5, *III.7, *IV.1.15⁴²¹, *VII.3.12, *XI.6, *XIV.1234⁴²², 1236, 1237)

btags grol phuñ po rañ grol nas zur khol du bkod pa'i btags grol 'khor lo chen mo žes bya ba lag len zin bris (*VII.1.21)

btags grol yid bžin nor mchog (*V.16, VIII.16, X.12.16,=187.16, XIV.1233)

Two 'Das log Manuscripts from the Library of Lha khañ Bla ma⁴²³ (XL.4380)

them byañ zin bris (VII.1.1)

thabs lam sgom pa'i rnal 'byor (XX.PTT. 82.60.5.5-61.2.1)

thabs lam gtum mo sgom pa (XX.PTT. 82.60.4.6-5.5)

thugs kyi thigs pa (XX.PTT. 83.82.1.4-3.6)

thugs kyi thig pa[i man nağ] (XX.PTT. 83.129.4.1-134.1.3)

thugs kyi thigs pa'i man nağ (XXI.14.639-665)

thos grol chen mo'i skor (*XL.3557)

Threc 'Das log Stories (XL.4293)

dam chos rdzogs pa chen po'i sku gsum ño sprod bar do thos grol gyi cha lag (*VII.2.23)

gsañ sñags spyi chiñs kyi gdams pa zab mo them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ñams chags gso ba'i skoñ bsāgs ñes pa kun sel 'khor ba doñ sprugs khyad par du 'phags pa (XXIX.21.253=XXIX.66.203-259)

them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ñams chags gso ba'i skoñ bsāgs ñes pa kun sel 'khor ba doñ sprugs dkyil 'khor gyi lde mig gsal ba'i me loñ (XXIX.21.254=XXIX.66.261-272)

⁴¹⁹ Reading: *sprugs*.

⁴²⁰ Reading: *chags*.

⁴²¹ Reading: *por*.

⁴²² Reading: *las*.

⁴²³ *rgyal ha'i yid 'dzin bzod pa chos kyi dbañ phyug and karma dbañ 'dzin gyi mam thar*.

- dam tshig thams cad kyi nams chags skoñ ba'i luñ lña (XLI.5)
 don brgyud gsol 'debs miñ tshig rañ grol (*IV.2.1)
 don brgyud gsol 'debs miñ tshig rañ grol padma mdo snags bstan 'dzin gyis bris pa
 (*XIV.1234)
 drag po'i sbyin bsreg gud du bstan pa (*VII.2.5)
 gdams ñag mar gyi yañ žuñ gdam pa 'chi kha'i ño sprod (XL.2088)
 bde chen žiñ gi ro sreg cho ga ñan soñ gnas 'dren sdug bñal mtsho skem gtan bde rab
 'bar (XL.1205)
 bka' sruñ dam can sde bdun gyi mdañs bskañ gdug pa rañ grol (*IV.1.26)
 'das log karma dbañ ldan gyi rnam thar (XL.1277)
 'dod chags rañ grol gyi nañ nas rigs brgyud bžag thabs dañ mñal sgo 'gags thabs khol
 du byuñ ba (VII.3.16)
 rdo rje theg pa snags kyi sgo sbyon bdud rtsi rol mtsho (XLI.2, p.28, n.26)
 rdo rje theg pa'i chos spyod thun bži'i rnal 'byor sñon 'gro rañ rgyu spyod byed
 (*XII.1, cf. gsañ snags rdo rje theg pa'i chos spyod thun bži'i rnal 'byor sems ñid
 rañ grol (*IV.1.1, *VII.1.11, *XIV.1235))
 rdo rje phag mo'i zab khrid las zab lam gtum mo'i ñi ma'i dkyil 'khor (XLI.MS1233)
 rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya las khrid yig (XXIV.27)
 rdo rje'i phag mo'i zab rgya drug gi rtsa rlun gnad kyi man ñag (XXIV.26)
 rdor sems bsgom bzlas (XII.20)
 sde bskul (XII.8)
 spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa 'das log byañ chub señge'i dmyal snañ šar ba las dge sdig
 gi šan dbye dañ gñin rje chos kyi rgyal po'i 'prin yig rgyas pa (XL.3211)
 lda khruš (XII.31)
 na rag skoñ(/bskañ) bñags nams chag(s) rañ grol gyi cha lag tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro
 drug rañ grol (*XII.29⁴²⁴, *XIV.1236⁴²⁵)
 na rag ñan soñ dañ nas sprugs pa'i cho ga bñags 'bum rin chen spuñs pa (XL.3798)
 na rag doñ sprug skoñ bñags (XXIX.21.252=XXIX.66.185-201)
 na rag doñ sprugs (XLI.372)
 na rag doñ sprugs kyi khrid yig zab lam snañ byed (XXVIII.1356.II.B.)
 na rag doñ sprugs kyi cho ga 'khor ba kun sgrol (XL.0994)
 na rag doñ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khruš (XL.3797)
 na rag doñ sprugs phyag rgya gcig pa'i rgyun khyer yañ zab sñiñ po (XL.0093)
 na rag bskañ bñags nams chag rañ grol gyi cha lag tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug rañ
 grol (*IV.2.5, *VII.2.1)
 nā ro'i chos drug gi rtag pa don gyi brgyud pa la gsol 'debs pa tshig ñuñ ñur byas pa
 (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.a)
 nā ro'i chos drug gi dmigs skor lag tu len tshul bsduš pa rje'i gsuñ pa bžin sems dpa'
 chen po kun bzañ bas bskod pa (XLI.677b, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)
 pañ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzañ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po'i gsuñ
 'bum ña pa'i dkar chag| nā ro chos drug gi zab khrid gser gyi lde mig (XLI.395p)
 ni gu chos drug gi khrid yig zab don thad mar brdal ba žes bya ba bklaš chog ma
 (XLI.14)
 ni gu chos drug rgyas pa khrid yig ye šes mkha' 'gro ma'i žal luñ (Mullin, 1982)
 no title⁴²⁶ (XL.3558)
 gnam chos thugs gter sñan brgyud dam pa rigs brgya'i sgrub thabs kyi lhan thabs
 gson byañ žu thabs bsduš pa'o (XXIX.21.264=XXIX.66.553-560)

⁴²⁴ Reading: chags.⁴²⁵ Reading: bskañ.⁴²⁶ Liturgical collection used in funeral rites.

- (že dgu ma) rnam śes goñ du 'pho ba'i rgya cher bśad pa gser gyi sgo byed pa (XLI.800.o)
- rnal 'byor gyi dbañ phyug chen po rje btsun bśad pa rdo rje'i rnam thar rgyas par phyed ba mgur 'bum (XLI.386)
- gsañ sñags spyi chñi gi gdams nağ zab mo them yig med pa'i skor las: rnal 'byor 'chi bñag bślu ba'i man nağ bcud len dañ bcas pa (XXIX.22.233)
- gnas 'dren 'gro drug rañ grol 'khrigs su bkod pa (*IV.1.28, *XIV.1234)
- gnas phyag (XII.35, XIV.1236)
- gnas luñ gi cho ga dañ dbañ bskur sogs la ñe bar mkho ba'i zur 'debs phran bu (*VII.2.8)
- dpal gar gyi dbañ phyug gsañ ba ye śes kyi (mkha' 'gro'i) 'pho ba'i man nağ mchog lam yañ rise XXVI.271⁴²⁷)
- dpal gar gyi dbañ phyug gsañ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i rtsa sñags kyi rnam bśad mkha' 'gro'i sñiñ khrag (XXVI.272)
- bla ma'i rnal 'byor la bñen nas lam rim ñams su len pa'i man nağ byañ chub bde lam! dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed la bstod pa'i tshig don rnam par bśad pa 'jam dpal ži khro dgyes byed legs bśad gsañ ba'i mchod sprin (XLI.583)
- dpal ldan nā ro chos drug gi khrid tig mchog gi gra chen dañ gsañ spyod zlog sgom gyi khrid yig žil non señ ge'i nā ro (not yet located, v. XLII.15)
- dpal nā ro chos drug gi khrid yig yid bñin gyi nor bu (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b¹)
- dpal nā ro pa chen po'i gegs gzer lña'i man nağ (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.m)
- dpal nā ro pa'i chos drug las rtsa ba tsañdā lī dañ po'i las can rñams kyi bgo skal du rnam par phyed ba'i zin ris skal bzañ ku mu ta 'dzum pa'i zla tshes (XL.1135)
- dpal 'bri guñ pa'i lags kyi chos drug dril ba'i gdams pa (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.z)
- dpal gsañ ba'i sñiñ po'i rgyud kyi khog dbub⁴²⁸ (XL.4103)
- dpe'u ris skor (VII.1.23)
- spyi spuñs ži khro'i tshogs dañ mar me brgya rtsar 'bul thabs bcas dañ 'brug gsañ rtsa sgrub kyi cha lag gñan yañ mchod bstod sna tshogs bśdus pa (XL.3756)
- sprañ byañ chub sams dpa'i dmyal ba dañ bar do'i rnam thar (XLI.MS1308)
- phag mo zab rgya'i gtum mo ras rkyañ gi zin bris mdor bśdus (XLI.MS1312)
- phuñ po sreg sbyoñ gi kha skoñ (IV.2.12, XIV.1234)
- phyag 'tshal bśdus pa (XII.22)
- bka' 'dus sñiñ po yid bñin nor bu las: phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po ži khro'i las byañ rgyud kun sñiñ khu ñes don sñiñ po (XXIX.20.058=XXIX.4.347-375)
- bka' 'dus sñiñ po yid bñin nor bu las: phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po ži khro'i las byañ gi kha skoñ ru thuñ bñi'i bśags pa rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus na rag doñ sprugs (XXIX.20.059=XXIX.4.377-395)
- bka' 'dus sñiñ po yid bñin nor bu las: phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po ži khro'i smin byed ma bug sprad pa las chog tu bśdebs pa kun tu bzañ po'i khrus chu (XXIX.20.060=XXIX.4.397-447)
- phra ba'i rnal 'byor (XX.PTT. 69.215.2.7-3.4)
- phrin bcol(l dharma señges so) (XIV.1234)
- bka' sruñ dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyoñ kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa rañ grol (~*IV.1.17, *VII.3.18)
- bka' sruñ dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyoñ kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa rañ grol gyi las byañ (*XIV.1236)

⁴²⁷ The bracketed mkha' 'gro'i, was added by the authors of the catalogue (Dieter Schuh and Peter Schwieger).

⁴²⁸ Eleventh-century history of the gsañ ba'i sñiñ po.

- bka' sruñ dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyon kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa rañ grol gyi las byañ chuñ ba* (*XII.16, *XIV.1235)
- bka' sruñ dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyon kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa rañ grol gyi las byañ chuñ ba* | nam mkha' rgya mshos sbyar ba (*XIV.1234)
- (*že dgu ma*) | *'pho khrid kyi rtsa tshig* brtag pa brgyad pa'i rab tu byed gsum pa (XLI.800n)
- bde mchog dril bu pa'i bla bryud gsol 'debs dan* | *dpal 'khor lo bde mchog dril bu lha lña'i dbañ chog bde chen sñiñ po* | *'pho khrid dpa' bo gyul 'jug gyi lhan thabs zin bris* (XLI.347z)
- 'pho bde bas thugs rje'i lcags skyu* (XXIX.20.656)
- žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñ* | *'pho ba* (XXIII.1318.1.y¹)
- bka' rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus 'pho ba skar khuñ mda' 'phañs kyi rim pa* (XLI.MS1029)
- bka' rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las* | *'pho ba skar khuñ mda' 'phañs kyi rim pa* (XLI.MS1030)
- bka' rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las 'pho ba skar khuñ mda' 'phañ lhan thabs* gsal byed myur 'gyogs bde chen pho ña bzugs so (XLI.MS1031)
- 'pho ba 'jag tshug ma thar lam gsal la ston* (XLI.MS1313)
- 'pho ba dran pa rañ grol* (Dargyay, 1978, p.199)
- kloñ chen sñiñ thig le las 'pho ba ma bsgoms sañs rgyas* (Dargyay, 1978, pp.199f.)⁴²⁹
- gži snañ ye šes sgron mel 'pho ba 'od gsal sñiñ po* (XXIII.1316.1.x)
- [*'pho ba'i man nag*] *phag chen 'phrul mdzod* (XXVI.178)
- žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñ bar do ño sprod* (XXIII.1318.1.m)
- bar do lña'i ño sprod* (XXV.127)
- bar do 'jigs skyobs ma* (XIII, v. infra *bar do'i smon lam 'jigs skyobs ma*)
- bar do thos grol gyi yañ sñiñ chos spyod bag chags rañ grol* (XLI.1)
- bar do thos grol gyi gsol 'debs* (XIII.MS1350)
- bar do thos grol gyi gsol 'debs rim ba* (*) *tshogs rañ grol* (II.1)
- bar do drug gi rtsa tshig* (IV.2.10)
- ñes don sñiñ po* | *bar do gnad kyi sgron me* (XXIII.1321.1.v)
- bar do* (i) *spyi'i don thams cad rnam pa gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me loñ* (XL.2352/2353, Kunsang 1987, (XLI.11))
- bar do* (r) *'phrañ sgrol gyi smon lam* (I.4a, V.5, VI.7, VIII.3, X.12.3,=19.3,=187.3, *XI.9a⁴³⁰, XII.47⁴³¹, XIV.1233⁴³²)
- bar do 'phrañ grol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs grol gyi dpa' bo žes bya ba dan de'i 'grel ba dan bde'i bsil ba ster byed zla zer* (XL.0171)
- bar do 'phreñ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs kyi 'grel pa gtan bde'i bsil ba ster byed zla zer* (XL.1450)
- bar do 'phrañ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i rnam bsad pañ chen dgoñs rgyan žes bya ba* (XL.1405)
- byañ chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams cad mkhyen par brjod pa'i bde lam gyi lhan thabs nag 'gros su bkod pa* | *bar do 'phrañ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i rnam bsad pañ chen dgoñs rgyan* (XLI.503)
- bar do 'phrañ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i 'grel bśad 'khrul snañ brag ri 'joms pa'i rdo rje'i thog mda'* (XL.1404)
- bla ma mchod pa bde ston dbyer med ma'i 'don sgrigs tshañ lam nor bu dan ñe par mkho ba'i chos spyod 'ga' žig phyogs gcig tu bkod pa rgyal ba'i gžun lam* | *bar do*

⁴²⁹ In *sñiñ thig pod gñis* (two volumes) of *gnas chuñ grva tshañ*, Vol.I, p.4ff.

⁴³⁰ The title ends with: *ñi*.

⁴³¹ Reading: *bar dor*.

⁴³² Reading: *bar do'i*.

- 'phrañ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i 'grel bśad 'khrul snañ brag ri 'joms pa'i rdo rje'i thog mda' (XLI.525)
- nes don sñiñ pol bar do sbubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.u)
- bar do 'od gsal sgron ma (XXIV.92)
- kun tu bzañ po'i dgoñs pa zañ thal gyi bar do rañ snañ gi rgyud (XXIV.94)
- rdzogs pa chen po kun tu bzañ po ye śes gsal kar ston pa'i rgyud phyi ma'i phyi mal bar do gsañ ba phyi ma'i rgyud (XXII.2624.2.f)
- bar do'i ño sprod (LXI.MS1352)
- žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñl bar do'i ño sprod (XXIII.1318.1.g)
- bar do'i chos bśad thos pas rnam grol (XXIX.21.268=XXIX.66.501-521)
- bar do'i ñams khrid dgoñs pa rañ grol gyi sñon 'gro rañ rgyud 'dul byed lhan thabs (*VII.2.13)
- žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñl bar do'i mīshan ñid bśad po dañ skye gnas rnam kyi rgyu bstan pa (XXIII.1318.1.i)
- žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñl bar do'i gdams pa 'byuñ ba 'dus pa 'bral ba rtags kyi rim pa (XXIII.1318.1.j)
- bar do'i rtsa tshig (I.4b, V.6, VI.6, VIII.4, X.12.4,=19.4,=187.4, XLII.12, XI.9b, XIV.1233)
- rdzogs chen sñiñ po hūm skor lasi bar do'i ma yig (XXIX.22.485)
- bar do'i smon lam dgoñs gcig rgya mīsho (XIII.MS1352, XLII.23)
- bar do'i smon lam 'jigs skyobs ma (I.4d, V.8, VI.10, VIII.8, X.12.8,=187.8, XI.9c, XIV.1233)
- bar do'i smon lam rnam gsum (~I.4, ~II.4, *III.6, ~V.3,4,5,8, ~VI.5,6,7,10, ~VII.3.14, ~VIII.3,4,5,8, ~IX.4, ~X.12.3-5&8,=19.3-5&8,=187.3-5&8, ~XI.9)
- bar do'i lam khyer dañ sbyar ba'i smon lam (XL.0072)
- bar do'i gsol 'debs kyi mchan 'grel ñuñ bsdus thar lam sñiñ rta (XLII.39)
- bar do'i gsol 'debs thos grol chen mo bklag chog tu bkod pa 'khrul snañ rañ grol (XLII.7)
- bum bsgrub (XIV.1234)
- bum dbañ bsdus par bskur tshul dañ sñiñ tu bsdus pa gior dbañ bcas gcig tu sdebs nas 'gros su bkod pa thos tshad rañ grol (*XIV.1235)
- bum pa a mri tas bsañs (IV.1.14)
- bum bzlas rgyun khyer (XII.11)
- bod mi'i 'das mchod (XL.4299)
- bya brgyud (XII.45)
- byañ sems thigs pa'i man ñag (XX.PTT. 57.103.3.3-103.4.5)
- byin 'bebs (XII.37, XIV.1236)
- bla ma brgyud pa'i phyag 'tshal byin rlabs sprin phuñ (*IV.1.23)
- ži khro bla ma brgyud pa'i phyag 'tshal byin rlabs sprin phuñ padma ma tis bris pa (*XIV.1234)
- bla ma 'jam dpal ži khro'i rnal 'byorl bla ma 'jam dpal ži khro'i sa bcad dañl de'i zab khrid(?) man ñag bka'rgya ma'i zin brisl gza' ñi(?) ma mthun(?) gañ ma'i ñams len 'khyer bde bcasl 'di rñams la dbañ dañ 'khrid rgyun ma thob pas blta bar mi bya'o (XLI.527f)
- bla ma rig 'dzin gyi mdoñs(?) skoñ(?) rtog sgrib rañ groll bu 'bor bkra śis rgya mtshos bcams (XIV.1234)
- bla ma'i thugs grub bar chad kun sel gyi bla ma smra ba'i señ ge 'jam dpal pha rol rgol 'joms kyi cha lag 'chi ba bslu ba'i cho ga 'chi bdag gdoñ zlog (XXIX.22.252)
- bla ma'i thugs grub yañ sñiñ 'dus pa'i bu ddha thod phreñl gti mug gi ño ba sbyoñ ba rmi lam 'od gsal khrid kyi zur rgyan bltas gsal (XXIX.20.174)

- rje btsun bla ma rdo rje 'chan thams cad mkhyen pa dbyaṅs can grub pa'i rdo rje dpal
bzañ po'i žal sñā nas la rnam thar gyi sgo nas gsol ba 'debs tshul byin rlabs nor bu
'dren pa'i sñā rtaḥ bla ma dan 'jam dpal 'ñi khro dbyer med pa'i rnal 'byor ṅams su
len tshul dños grub gter mdzod (XLI.246k)
- bla ma'i thugs grub rdo rje drag rtsal las/ žal gdams lam rim ye śes sñān po/ padma
sam bha'i sñān tig go (XLII, p.28, n.23)
- bram ze duñ gi phreñ ba can gyi lo rgyus (XIV.1236, v. 'ñi khro na rag bskāñ bśags las
bram ze duñ phreñ can gyi lo rgyus zur tsam (IV.2.14, VII.1.3))
- dbañ bskur 'brin po 'gro drug rañ grol (XLII.p.93, n.68)
- dbañ bskur 'brin po 'gro drug rañ grol pad ma gar dbaṅ blo gros mtha yas(?) pa'i
sdes(?) sbyar ba (XIV.1234)
- dbañ gi dños gñi 'phrad tshad rañ grol gyi spros bcas bum dbaṅ chen mo (*IV.2.6,
*VII.1.6)
- dbañ gi sta gon sñon 'gro rin chen sgron ma'i lhan thabs gsal bar bkod pa the tshom
rañ grol (*VII.2.6, *XXIX.20.051)
- dbañ gi sbyin sreg gud du ston pa'i yig chuñ (*VII.2.4)
- dbañ chuñ (XIV.1236)
- dbañ ldan zu gi rin lugs kyi 'ñi khro'i sgrub skor (XL.0684/5, collection of 41 "Bon"-
texts)
- dbañ bsdus (pa) (*XII.38, XII.43, (XIV.1236))
- dbañ bñi 'phrad tshad rañ grol gyi rgyud pa'i lo rgyus (*XIII.MS1445)
- dbañ bñi 'phrad tshad rañ grol gyi rjes kyi rim pa gsal ba'i me tog(lon) (*VII.1.10,
*XII.40⁴³³, *XIV.1236)
- dbañ bñi 'phrad tshad rañ grol gyi gsañ dbaṅ bde chen rañ grol la sogs dbaṅ goñ ma
gsum gyi zab gsal khyad par can (~*IV.2.7, *VII.1.7)
- dbañ bñi 'phrad tshad rañ grol gsañ dbaṅ bde che na rañ grol la sogs dbaṅ goñ ma
gsum gyi gsab gsal kyad par can (*IV.2.7)
- ñes don sñān po/ dbyiñs sñān ño sprod (XXIII.1321.1.o)
- dgoñs pa zañ thal gyi man naḡ khug pa lña'i gdams pa (XXIV.90/1-2)
- rdzogs pa chen po sñān thig gi man naḡ khug pa lña'i gdams naḡ (XXIV.91)
- man naḡ sñān gi dgoñs pa rgyud rdo rje sams dpas gsuñs pa (XXIV.96)
- mi pham mgon po la bstod pa'i 'chi slu ma (XX.PTT.81.289.5.1-8)
- myur lam 'pho ba'i rnal 'byor dpal 'brug pa'i ṅams bśes 'jags tshugs ma (XLI.604)
- thugs grub yañ sñān 'dus pa las dmār khrid rigs lña las ra tñā thod phreñ mñām ñid
phyag rgya chen po'i khrid kyi zur rgyan bltas gsal (XXIX.20.175)
- bla ma'i thugs grub yañ sñān 'dus pa las dmār khrid rigs lña'i rdo rje thod phreñ ze
sda gi ño bo spyod pa sgyu lus bar do'i khrid gyi zur rgyan bltas chog tu bkod pa
(XXIX.20.173)
- rdor sams thugs kyi sgrub pa'i rmi lam gyi khrid yig zin bris su spel ba ñān 'khrul rañ
grol (XXIX.20.047)
- ñes don sñān po/ rmi lam 'bubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.n)
- smin grol rgyab rten dan bcas pa'i brgyud tshul gyi gsol 'debs byin rlabs bdud rtsi'i
gru charl blo gros rab gsal zla ba dbyaṅs can bdud rtsi'i lañ tsho'am zur sprul
rgyal sras su grags pas bris (XIV.1236)
- smin byed sgo 'byed dbaṅ skur 'brin po 'gro drug rañ grol la kha skoñ phyag bñes kyi
brgyan pa 'brel tshad rañ grol (*IV.2.8, *VII.2.7, *XXIX.20.052)
- smon lam (XII.25)
- rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab bla sgrub dkon mchog spyi 'dus kyi 'khrid yig gu ru'i dgoñs
rgyan ñān byed sñān po las rdzogs rim khrid yig kham ssum yoñs grol tshe dpag

⁴³³ Reading: me lon.

- med gnam lcags rdo rje'i cha lag 'chi bslu'i gtor chen 'grigs chags su bkod pa 'chi bdag g-yul zlog (XLI.648m)
- rtsa kha 'byed pa'i man nag (XX.PTT. 82.60.3.2-6)
- dpal ldan sañs pa'i gser chos lasl rtsa ba ni gu chos drug gi khrid(?) bsdus stan thog cig ma'i nams len ye šes rja ki'i žal luñ (XXIX.20.234)
- rtsa rluñ mkha' 'gro gsañ mdzod cha tshañ dañ mgur ma byañ khrid bcas kyi gsuñ po (XL.1429)
- rtsa rluñ gi sgo nas rnal 'byor gyi spyod pa (XX.PTT. 69.206.1-8)
- dam tshig bkod pa bži'i rgyudl rtsa rluñ thig le'i rgyud 'jam dpal 'dus pa'i rgyud las bsdus pa (XXII.2626.16b)
- rtsa rluñ la sogs sgom pa (XX.PTT. 82.60.3.6-4.6)
- rtsa gsum ži khro spyi'i sgrub pa chen po'i khog dbub khyer bder bkod pa gcig šes kun grol (XXIX.21.234)
- bka' rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus rtsa gsum ži khro sbrags sgrubs kyi las byañ bltas chog tu bkod pa padma'i dgoñs rgyan (XL.1083)
- rtsa gsum rab 'byams kyi bskan 'dus rin chen 'bar ba'i phreñ ba (XIV.1238)
- rtsa'i rigs 'byuñ ba'i mdor bsdus chen po (XX.PTT. 46.183.3.1-186.1.1)
- tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug rañ grol (*XIII.MS1448)
- tshe 'das gnas 'dren bsdus pa (XIV.1234)
- tshe 'das gnas 'dren bsdus pa thugs rje'i lcags skyu (XIV.1238)
- tshe dpag med gnam lcags rdo rje'i cha lag 'chi bslu'i gtor chen 'grigs chags su bkod pa 'chi bdag yul zlog (XXIX.20.602)
- tshe dpag med ži ba lha mañ gi cho ga 'chi med 'dod pa'i re skoñ nag gros su bkod pa (XL.1931)
- tshogs bgags(?) (XIV.1236)
- tshogs phud (XIV.1235)
- tshogs las gañ rigs la sbyar chog pa'i tshogs bsdus (IV.1.27)
- mtshams sbyor (XII.⁴³⁴ 5,9,12,36,39,44)
- mtsho rgyal gi gsuñs po'i zab lam yid bžin nor bu žes bya ba rtsa rluñ gi chos skor (XXVII.2069.7)
- 'dzab dgoñs sñiñ po rañ grol (*XIV.1234)
- 'dzab bzlas tshañs pa'i sgra dbyañs 'khor 'das rañ grol (*XIV.1235)
- 'dzab bzlas tshañs pa'i sgra dbyañs 'khor 'das rañ grol bad bstan(?) pas bgyis pa(o) (*XIV.(1234),1236)
- rdzu 'phrul sgyu ma'i be bum no mtshar stoñ ldan (XL.1584)
- rdzogs chen 'khor 'das rañ grol las btags grol bcañs thabs (VII.3.13)
- kun bzañ dgoñs pa zañ thal las rdzogs pa chen po chos nīd mñon sum ži khro lhun sgrub kyi phrin las (XXIV.40, XL.2111,2112)
- rdzogs pa chen po kloñ chen sñiñ thig gi sñon 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzañ bla ma'i žal luñ (XLI.2, p.28, n.24, Kern 28.236.9, XL.0852, XLI.644)
- rdzogs pa chen po kloñ chen sñiñ thig gi sñon 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzañ bla ma'i žal luñ gi zin bris (XL.1767)
- rdzogs pa chen po kun tu bzañ po ye šes gsal kar ston pa'i rgyud phyi ma'i phyi mal rdzogs pa chen po bar do gsañ ba'i rgyud žes bya ba rdzogs so (XXII.2624.2.e)
- rdzogs pa chen po rtsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo (XXIV.20)
- rdzogs pa chen po <o> ži khro bka' 'dus sñiñ po'i las byañ kun bzañ mchog gi myur lam (Kern 28.542.**)
- rdzogs pa chen po'i rtsa rluñ gnad kyi gron ma (XXIV.101)
- rdzogs pa chen po'i no sprod nī šu rtsa gcig (XXIV.93)

⁴³⁴ All different interludes(?).

- rdzogs rim bar do drug gi yig las ñams khrid dgoñs pa rañ grol gyi dañ po skye gnas
bar do'i khrid yig kun gzi rañ grol (*VII.2.14)
- rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig dgoñs pa rañ grol gyi spyi don gñis pa rmi lam
bar do'i khrid yig 'khrul pa rañ grol (*VII.2.15)
- rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don gsum pa bsam gtan bar do'i khrid yig rig
pa rañ grol (*VII.2.16)
- rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don bži pa 'pho ba dran pa rañ grol 'chi kha
bar do'i gdams ñag (*VII.2.17)
- rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don lha pa chos ñid bar do'i khrid yig mthon
ba rañ grol (*VII.2.18)
- rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don drug pa srid pa bar do'i khrid yig srid pa
rañ grol (*VII.2.19)
- brdzab ('dzab) bzlas tshañs pa'i sgra dbyañs rañ grol (*IV.1.12, *XII.13⁴³⁵)
- bka' brgyad gsañ ba yoñs rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gzuñl ñi khro bka' brgyad yoñs
rdzogs kyi dam can dgos su bsgrub pa'i thabs (XLIIMS1021g)
- ñi khro bka' 'dus by O rgyan gliñ pa (Dargyay, 1977, p.48, n.53)
- ñi khro dgoñs pa rañ grol gyi chos skor (XL.3559)
- ñi khro sgo nas phuñ po bsregs sbyoñ bya ba'i lag len (IV.2.11)
- ñi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doñ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khru
(XLI.336b=653,650,653=336b)
- de bžin gśegs pa rñams kyi mishan brjod bskal bzañ rgyan gyi 'phreñ bal ñi khro sgyu
'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doñ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khru (XLI.336b)
- ñi khro sgrub skor (Zogai 614/.29, collection of 53 "Bon"-texts, v. Karney (1977),
pp.31-36)
- ñi khro sgrub skor glegs bam gyi dbu'i rdul len thar lam 'dren byed (XL.2678, bon)
- ñi khro ñan soñ sbyoñ ba'i chog sgrig(lb)s khrom(s) dkrugs gsal ba'i rgyan žes bya ba
klags chog(s) mar bkod pa (XLI.651⁴³⁶,=13t⁴³⁷, XLII.27⁴³⁸)
- ñi khro ñes don sñiñ po (XLI.652)
- ñi khro ñes don sñiñ po (XL.3505)
- yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las ñi khro ñes don sñiñ po mñion rtogs (XLIIMS1460)
- yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dañ ñi khro ñes don sñiñ po'i phyag len chog sgrigs
bklags chog tu bkod pa 'ja' tshon dgoñs pa rgyan (XL.1399)
- yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus dañ de'i cha lag ñi khro ñes don sñiñ po'i las byañ don
gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgoñs brgyan (XL.1079/1083)
- ñi khro 'dus pa'i tshogs mchod (XIV.1235)
- ñi khro 'dus pa'i las byañ risar(l) 'phreñ tshor ba rañ grol (*IV.1.6, *VII.1.14,
*XII.6⁴³⁹, *XIV.1235,1236)
- ñi khro na rag bskañ bśags las bram ze duñ phreñ can gyi lo rgyus zur tsam (IV.2.14,
VII.1.3)
- ñi khro na rag doñ sprug gi skoñ bśags thugs rje'i zla 'od (XXIX.20.070=XXIX.5.153-
187)
- ñi khro na rag doñ sprug gi dbañ chog bdud rtsi'i gañ gā (XXIX.20.077=XXIX.5.189-213)
- ñi khro na rag doñ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khru 'gyod tshañs kyi cho ga dri med
bśags rgyud (XL.1827, Kern 28.542.40)

⁴³⁵ Reading: 'dzab.⁴³⁶ Reading: sgrigs khrom.⁴³⁷ Reading: sgrigs khroms (in Nebesky-Wojkowitz-catalogue only).⁴³⁸ Reading: sgrigs khrom.⁴³⁹ Reading: rtsul.

- rdo rje sems dpa' thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsuñs pa'i ži khro na rag doñ sprugs thabs (XXIX.20.069=XXIX.5.119-151)
- ži khro na rag doñ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khruś 'gyod tshañs kyi cho ga dri med bžags rgyud (XLI.10)
- ži khro rab 'byams kyi bñen sgrub kyi dmigs rim grub mchog žal luñ bzañ po (XXIV.42)
- bka' brgyad gsañ ba yoñs rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gžuñl ži khro yoñs rdzogs kyi byin sreg (XLI.MS1021ii)
- bka' brgyad gsañ ba yoñs rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gžuñl ži khro yoñs rdzogs sgo nas ro bsreg sbyañ (XLI.MS1021jj)
- yañ tig ye šes mthoñ grol las ži khro rañ gsal gyi phrin las bklags chog mar bkod pa (XL.3189)
- kun bzañ dgoñs pa kun 'dus lasl ži khro gsañ kyi las byañ khyer bder dril ba rin chen sgron me (XXIX.22.497)
- kun bzañ dgoñs pa kun 'dus lasl ži khro gsañ ba 'dus pa'i las byañ padna'i 'phreñ ba (XLI.4)
- ži khro'i kloñ bšags brjod pa rañ grol (*I.8, *III.4, *IV.1.24, *V.15, *VI.13, *VII.1.19, *VIII.15, *X.12.15, *XI.2=XIV.1.237, *XII.23, *XIII.665, *XIV.1.233, 1.236, 1.237=XI.2, 1.238)
- ži khro'i kloñ bšags ñams chag rañ grol gyi cha rkyen(?) gyi bskañ(?) bsdusl blo gros rgyal mtshan gyis so (XIV.1.234)
- ži khro'i bka' sruñs dam can sde bdun gyi 'phris chos skyoñ kun 'dus dgregs(?) bdug pa rañ grol gyi las byañ chuñ ba (XIII.MS1438)
- grol tig dgoñs pa rañ grol gyi chos sdel ži khro'i bskyed rdzogs kyi phrin las khrigs su bsdebs pa 'od gsal sñiñ po (XXIX.20.057=XXIX.4.283-346)
- ži khro'i sgo nas phuñ po bsreg sbyoñ bya ba'i lag len (XIV.1.234)
- ži khro'i sgom rim chuñ ba lhan skyes rañ grol (IV.1.10, XLI.654)
- kun bzañ dgoñs pa kun 'dus ži khro'i chog gžuñ gsol 'debs byin brlabs chu rgyun (XLI.3)
- kun bzañ dgoñs pa kun 'dus las ži khro'i bdag dbañ (IV.1.15, XIV.1.234)
- ži khro'i mdun bskyed śin tu bsdus pa snod bcud rañ grol (IV.1.11, XIV.1.234)
- rdzogs pa chen po lta ba kloñ yañs lasl ži khro'i dbañ bskur śin tu bsdus pa gtor dbañ phra thig sgrub thabs bcas gžan phan kloñ yañs (XXIX.22.481)
- ži khro'i phyag 'tshal bsdus pa (IV.1.22, VII.1.18)
- rdzogs chen lta ba kloñ yañs lasl ži khro'i tshe sgrub 'od zer drwa ba'i phrin las lhan thabs kyiś brgyan pa 'chi med 'od zer (XXIX.20.585)
- rdzogs chen lta ba kloñ yañs lasl ži khro'i tshe sgrub 'od zer drwa ba'i tshe dbañ rin chen 'khor lo bklags chog tu bsdebs pa bdud rtsi'i 'od zer (XXIX.20.586)
- ži khro'i las byañ mchod pa'i skabs su mtshan sñags khā hi bsdus pa (IV.1.8)
- ži khro'i dgyes pa dzañ bha la'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT.81.48.4.7-49.1.2)
- bka' brgyad gsañ ba yoñs rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gžuñl ži ba dam pa rigs brgya'i sgrub thabs (XLI.MS1021u)
- žus len bdud rtsi gser phreñl ži ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid (XXIII.1318.1.h)
- ži ba'i sbyin bsreg gud du bstan pa'i yig chuñ (VII.2.2)
- ži ba'i lha'i rnam par thar ba rin chen phreñ ba (XL.1053)
- ži byed skor bdun gyi las tshogs sbyin sregl bya bas khruśl byad(?) dkyill 'chi bslu rnams gsal bar bkod pa mu tig chun po (XXIX.22.071)
- žin khamś sñā'i smon lam thos pa rañ grol (XLI.3)
- gži sku gsum gyi rnam bžag rab gsal sgron me (XL.0696)
- bžags bzañ bad tshal 'byed pa'i bsten yig dri bzañ ñan ldan kun tu bzañ po'i žal ñol kun bzañ phan gyis bgyis (*XIV.1.236)

- zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul lasl zañs byañ ma'i chos sde khro bo dam pa rgyan gyi
 dkyil 'khor du dbaṅ bskur ba'i cho ga rgyud luṅ sñiṅ po (XXIX.20.068)
- zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul lasl zañs byañ ma'i chos sde rdor sems ṣi ba bži bcu
 rtsa gñis kyi dkyil 'khor du dbaṅ bskur ba'i cho ga ño mtshar sñiṅ po
 (XXIX.20.066)
- zab bskul (XII.10)
- zab chos ṣi khro ñes don sñiṅ po'i sgo nas raṅ (daṅ) gžan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i
 las(lm) rim 'khor (l'tshol) ba'i mun gžoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod
 (XLI.667⁴⁰, XLII.9, private copy⁴¹, XL.1416)
- zab chos ṣi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol chos skor (XL.3556)
- zab mo nā ro'i chos drug gi ñams len thun chos bdud rtsi ñiṅ khu ṣes bya ba sgrub
 brgyud karma kam tshaṅ gi don khrid (XL.3258, v.XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, and
 XLII.13)
- zab mo nā ro chos drug gi ñams len thun chos bdud rtsi'i ñiṅ khu ṣes bya ba sgrub
 brgyud karma kham tshaṅ gi don khrid (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, v. XLII.13, and
 XL.3258)
- ñes don sñiṅ pol zab lam bde chen rgya mtsho (XXIII.1321.1.h)
- zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa (Dargyay, 1978 (1977)⁴²)
- zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan (XL.2617,
 XLI.677a, PTT.160.208.3.3-161.13.2.8, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)
- zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chiṅs khrid yig daṅ bcas pa! karma pa raṅ
 byuṅ rdo rjes mdzad pa'i chos drug gser žun mar grags so (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b)
- yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa skar khuṅ mda' phaṅ
 (XLI.MS1459)
- zab lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa 'jag tshugs ma'i lo rgyus gdams ñag khrid yig daṅ bcas pa
 bzugs so!l ñi zla saṅs rgyas gter byon (XXIX.20.655)
- sñan rgyud gsaṅ ba'i mthar thug las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa sñiṅ gi thig le (Evans-
 Wentz, 1958)
- zas bsño (XII.41)
- 'og sgo bde chen 'dod chags raṅ grol gyis ñams khrid gud du bkol ba don bsduṣ zab
 khrid bde ba raṅ grol (VII.3.17)
- 'og sgo bde ba chen po'i khrid 'dod chags raṅ grol (VII.3.15)
- rje tṣun bla ma dgoṅs can grub pa'i rdo rje'i bka' 'bum ga pa'i dkar chag! 'od dpag
med kyi 'pho ba bka' rgya ma'i bka' zin (XLI.242bb)
- žus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ! 'od gsal (XXIII.1318.1.n)
- ñes don sñiṅ pol 'od gsal 'khor lo (XXIII.1321.1.i)
- ñes don sñiṅ pol 'od gsal phra khrid (XXIII.1321.1.q)
- ñes don sñiṅ pol 'od gsal 'bubs 'jug (XXIII.1321.1.k)
- kun bzaṅ thugs gter lasl yaṅ dag ṣi khro phur gsum gyi phrin las byañ(?) bu(?) grüb
 gñis nor bu rgya mtsho (XXIX.20.856)
- kun bzaṅ thugs gter las yaṅ dag ṣi khro phur gsum gyi dbaṅ gi cho ga grub gñis bdud
 rtsi'i rgyun 'bebs (XXIX.20.857)
- rdor sems thugs kyi sgrub pa'i yaṅ lag zab lam 'pho ba'i man ñag gi zin bris kun bzaṅ
 myur lam (XXIX.20.049)
- yi ge drug pa'i rgyud kyi rim pas dkyil 'khor lo bstan pa'i sgrub thabs (XX.PTT.
 79.135.4.1-136.3.8)
- yi dam spyi yi byañ chog ṣi ṣog gson ṣog gaṅ byed kyaṅ 'brel tshad don ldan bde chen
 žiṅ gi lam bzaṅ (XXIX.21.265=XXIX.66.535-551)

⁴⁰ Only in the title-description *dan* is left out and 'khor ha is replaced by 'tshol ba.

⁴¹ Only this BP. distinctly has *lam*.

⁴² By rJe tshoṅ kha pa, folios 41vff., Gangtok (1972).

- yañ gsañ bla na med pa rdzogs pa chen po rig pa ye śes rañ gsal ba'i rgyud (XXIV.83)
- rañ lus rtsa yi 'khor lo (XX.PTT. 82.61.2.1-7)
- rig pa ño sprod gcer mhoñ rañ grol (*II.9, *IV.2.2, *V.10, *VI.14, *VII.2.22, *VIII.10, *X.12.10,=187.10, *XIII.666, *XIV.1233)
- rig pa rañ śar chen po rgyud (Rangdröl, 1989, p.29, n.2; in rgyud'bum Khyentse-edition)
- rig 'dzin padma glin pa'i bka' 'bum yid bzin gter mdzod (XLI. p.28. n.25)
- rigs bryud sprul sku bzag thabs 'dod chags lam 'khyer (*XIII.MS1449)
- rdzogs pa chen po dgoñs pa zañ thal las rigs drug 'khor ba gnas 'dren (XXIV.43)
- rigs drug thar pa chen po'i mdo gzuñs thos grol bar do 'phrañ grol chen po skye sgo gcod pa'i mdo (XL.2144, bon)
- rigs drug gnas 'dren (*IV.2.16)
- rig[s] drug gnas 'dren ñuñ bsdus sgrigs chags (*XIV.1235)
- rigs drug gnas 'dren padma rig 'dzin gyis bkod pa (*XIV.1234,1236)
- rigs drug gnas 'dren bsdus pa (*XII.42)
- riñ tshe'i cho ga sgrub pa'i rnam par bzag pa 'chi bdag slu ba'i rtog pa'i don 'grel tshe dbañ dga' ba 'khyil ba'i thig le (XXIX.20.268)
- Rituals from the dKön mchog spyi 'dus and 'Zi khro Cycles (XL.3502)
- rim pa lña pa (XX.PTT. 61.288.3.7-293.5.1)
- rim pa lña pa'i dka 'grel (XX.PTT. 62.149.1.1-153.5.2 (comm. untill 62.163.5.1.1))
- rim lam dañ 'chi ltas 'ja' tshon sgra byuñ ba'i ltas bcas la brtag pa byed tshul skyes pa dañ bud med mi dpyad brtag pa bya rog skad bcas la brtag pa bya tshul rnam par gsal ba'i me loñ (XL.1337)
- ro bsreg gi cho ga (XX.PTT. 79.131.2.7-3.8)
- ro sreg gi cho ga ye śes 'od 'barl ka ma la tis bris pa (XIV.1236)
- lam khyer gyi chos gsum (XX.PTT. 82.46.1.8-5.1)
- las bum sgrub pa'i cho ga dag gyid(?) chu rgyun (XIV.1234)
- las bum bsdab sbyañ (IV.1.5)
- bka' rdzogs pa chen po yañ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus kyi las byañ khrigs su bkod pa 'khrul med rab gsal dños grub mchog ster (XLI.38)
- bka' sruñ dam can sde bdun gyi las byañ dgra bgegs gdug pa rañ grol (*IV.1.17)
- las byañ chuñ ba tshor ba rañ grol (gyi) sñiñ po (*IV.2.2, *VII.1.15, *XIV.1234,1238⁴⁴³, *XXIX.20.050)
- las byañ bsdus pa (XIV.1235)
- las byañ tshor ba rañ grol sñiñ po (*XII.7, *XIV.1235(2x),1236)
- las byañ rtsa phreñ tshor ba rañ grol (*IV.1.6, *XIV.1234)
- luñ bstan bka' rgya (*rañ grol) dañ thugs rje chen po padma 'zi khro las VII.1.24)
- rluñ 'khrugs 'bum gyi yañ sñiñ gñin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog žags dug gi 'khor lo (XXIX.85.37-43)
- rluñ 'khrugs 'bum gyi yañ sñiñ gñin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog žags dug gi 'khor lo'i dpe bris bca' gñi'i šog khra yod (XXIX.85.45-50)
- ñes don sñiñ po' rluñ drug rdo rje'i chinś (XXIII.1321.1.f)
- ñes don sñiñ po' rluñ sbyor ye śes drwa ba (XXIII.1321.1.g)
- śi ba'i sems can sdig pa las thar bar byed pa'i ro bsreg pa'i cho ga dug sbyoñ gsal ba'ime loñ (XX.PTT. 79.242.1.2-4.5)
- gñin gyi cho ga (XX.PTT. 56.222.3.1-103.4.5)
- gñin gyi cho ga (XX.PTT. 86.38.2.5-39.1.1)
- gñin chog (XII.14)

⁴⁴³ Reading: gyi.

gśin po rjes su 'dzin pa'i cho ga thar pa'i myur lam (XXIX.21.263=XXIX.66.523-533)
 śel rdo no sprod mihon ba rañ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag (VII.3.2)
 sa bcaḍ lde mig rañ grol (*VII.2.10)

sā tsīsha'i 'debs pa'i gsal byed legs tshogs lhun grubl za hor gyi bandes bris pa
 (XIV.1236)

sañs rgyas dan byañ chub sems dpa' rñams la ra mda'(lr) sg(lb)ran pa'i smon lam
 (V.3, VI.5⁴⁴⁴, VIII.3, X.12.3,=19.3,=187.3, XIV.1233)

sañs rgyas dan byañ chub sems dpa' rñams ra mda'(lr) sbran pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa
 rañ grol dan bar do'i rīsa tshig dan bar do 'phrañ grol dan bar do 'jigs skyobs ma
 bcas(/rñams) (*I.4, *II.4, *III.6, *XIV.1234,1236⁴⁴⁵, 1237⁴⁴⁶)

sañs rgyas dan byañ chub sems dpa' rñams ra mda' sbran pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa rañ
 grol dan bar do 'jigs skyobs ma rñams (*XIV.1235)

sañs rgyas dan byañ chub sems dpa' rñams ra mda' sprañ pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa rañ
 grol dan bar do'i rīsa tshig dan bar do 'jigs skyobs ma bcas (*XI.9)

srid pa bar do'i gde sdig rañ gzugs bstan pa'i gdams pa srid pa bar do rañ grol
 (*VI.17, *VIII.11, *X.12.11,=187.11)

srid pa bar do'i dge sdig rañ gzugs bstan pa'i lhan thabs (*V.12, *VI.18,
 *X.12.11,=187.11, *XIV.1233)

bar do thos grol chen mo las srid pa bar do'i no sprod (V.6, VI.8, VIII.6, X.12.6,
 XIV.1233)

srid pa bar do'i no sprod kyi lhan thabs dbyañ sñan lha'i gandhe (~*VI.18, *VII.3.7)

srid pa bar do'i no sprod gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo (*I.3, *II.3, *III.3, ~V.6, ~VI.8,
 *VII.3.6, *VIII.6, *IX.3, *XI.5, *XIV.1237)

slob dpon padma mdzad pa'i rgyud sde bži'i yañ sñiñ ** bde gśegs ʒi khro'i sñiñ khrag
 gcig tu bsdus pa mīshon sruñ rdo rje'i go khrab(lñ?) rgyun thun(b?) sruñ ba'i
 rgyal po'i bri rgyun zab pa'i mīhar thug (XXIX.22.103)

gsaṇ sñags rdo rje theg pa'i chos spyod thun bži'i rnal 'byor sems ñid rañ grol
 (*IV.1.1, *VII.1.12, *XIV.1235)

gsaṇ sñags rdo rje theg pa'i chos spyod thun bži'i rnal 'byor sems ñid rañ grol chos
 rje gliñ pa'i ʒal gdams gu ru sūrya candra ra smiñ yi ger 'god (*XIV.1234)

gsaṇ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo nas 'chi blu ba'i cho ga srog gi bcud len
 (XXVI.151)

gsaṇ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo nas rigs drug gnas 'dren gyi cho ga (XXVI.149)

gsaṇ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i gnas luñ gi cho ga'i rnam bśad mkha' spyod snañ ba'i
 mdzes rgyan (XXVI.153)

gsaṇ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs dan pho ba'i man ñag gi
 gsal byed gīan gyi lam grogs (XXVI.235)

gsaṇ ba ye śes kyi gnas luñ gi cho ga'i ñag 'don mkha' spyod snañ ba (XXVI.154)

dpal gsaṇ ba'i sñiñ po phyi ma (XXI.14.62-67)

gsaṇ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa (XX.PTT.10.36.3.7-77.3.7)

gsaṇ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa (XXI.14.1-61)

gsaṇ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa (XXI.14.67-317)

gsaṇ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pal sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa ʒes bya ba'i rgyud
 (XXI.14.549-571)

dpal gsaṇ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa(i) rgya cher bśad pa'i 'grel pa
 (XX.PTT.83.1.1.1-70.3.7)

gsaṇ ba'i sñiñ po de kho na ñid ñes pa'i sgyu 'phrul dr(v)a ba bla ma chen po
 (XXI.14.572-639)

⁴⁴¹ Reading: mdar sbran.

⁴⁴⁵ Reading: rñams.

⁴⁴⁶ Reading: mdar.

gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ṅid ṅes pa'i bla ma chen po (XX.PTT.10.98.2.5-108.4.8)
'phags pa rlogs pa'i rgyal po lgyu 'phrul dr(v)a ba le'u ston phrag brgya pa las
mshan ṅid daṅ rgyud thams cad luṅ gi spyad pa de bžin ṅeṅs pa thams cad kyi
gsaṅ ba' gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ṅid ṅes pa'i le'u las lgyu 'phrul le lhaḡ
 (XXI.14.415-549)

dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ṅid rnam par ṅes pa (XX.PTT.10.1.1.3-9.4.3)
dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i don bsdus 'grel pindārtha (XX.PTT.83.177.1.1-188.4.6)

dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i rim pa ṅiṅs kyi don(ṅ?) (XX.PTT.83.262.2.4-3.6)

dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ṅid ṅes pa (XXI.14.317-415)

gsaṅ ba'i thigs pa (XX.PTT. 83.82.3.6-5.1)

gsaṅ ba'i thigs pa'i man ṅag gi 'grel pa (XX.PTT. 83.255.2.5-259.1.2)

gsaṅ ba'i man ṅag 'jam pa'i thigs (XX.PTT.83.253.2.5-255.2.5)

gsaṅ ye daṅ 'brel ba'i pho ba bklags chog ma (XXVI.236)

gsaṅ ye'i le lag kha 'bar ma dkar nag khra gsum la brten nas 'chi blu byad bzlog mi
kha sel ba'i man ṅag rdo rje'i 'gro phan (XXVI.247)

gsaṅ lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa las tshe 'das rnam śes spar ba'i dmigs pa (Evans-Wentz 1958)

gsol 'debs sku gsum kloṅ yaṅs raṅ grol (*IV.1.2, *VII.2.11, *XIII.MS1444, *XIV.1235, *XLI.661)

*bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor gyi rtsa tshig rnam*⁴⁴⁷ (XL.3169)

bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor spyi'i sñon rjes kyi rim pa rnam kyi zin bris brjed byaṅ blo
*dman dga' bskyed*⁴⁴⁸ (XL.3170)

śam ze duṅ gi phreṅ ba can gyi lo rgyus (XII.33)

sems kyi thig le hūṁ ṅid bsgom pa'i rim pa (XX.PTT. 69.208.1.8-2.8)

hūṁ yig sems ṅid thig le bsgom pa'i rim pa (XX.PTT. 69.208.4.4-5.6)

hor bla mu khri yid bžin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi ži khro'i sgrub skor
 (XL.1071/1072, collection of 51 "Bon"-texts)

lhag ma (XIV.1238)

o rgyan rin po che'i gter ston luṅ bstan daṅ khuṅ btsun pa bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa
rnam (VII.1.4)

⁴⁴⁷ *Nā ro'i chos drug.*

⁴⁴⁸ *Nā ro'i chos drug.*

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